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22 AUGUST 1989



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# ***JPRS Report***

# **Soviet Union**

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***Political Affairs***

# Soviet Union Political Affairs

JPRS-UPA-89-052

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22 AUGUST 1989

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### Gorbachev Bodyguard Identified

18001510 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian  
No 32, 12-18 Aug 89 p 7

[Article by Ye. Meshkicheva: "Who Is He, 'The Man in the Background'?"]

[Text] He is right there, always and everywhere, he travels all over the world. In New York or Paris, Havana, Beijing or Bonn, in Moscow, Minsk, Leningrad... When Gorbachev appears, this man stands behind him or next to him, but not in front. Quickly glancing around, he opens the door of the ZIL, pushes a chair up to the negotiating table, or hands the General Secretary his glasses when an agreement needs to be signed. He holds Gorbachev's umbrella and takes flowers and presents from him, passing them along quickly because he must always have his hands free. The inconspicuous person behind Gorbachev is Aleksandr Timofeyevich Medvedev. He is Gorbachev's primary bodyguard. Brezhnev was the first to bring this KGB officer into his inner circle, and he remained in this position under Andropov and Chernenko.

This is what bodyguards in Bonn think of the long career of their colleague Medvedev: "In the West, anyone who has been trusted by four politicians and has remained physically fit and agile for decades would be so prestigious, they would write books about him."

### Intellectuals Assess Perestroika at Western Journalists Forum

18120108 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 28, 16-23 Jul 89 p 10

[Article by Dmitry Kazutin and Viktor Loshak: "What Stage Is Perestroika At?"]

[Text] This was the only question discussed at the forum of six European periodicals in Moscow early in June.

**Question:** At what stage is perestroika going to become irreversible? When can one say that it is a success?

**Answer:** We have reached the point of the most decisive change, necessitating the most radical decisions, in the entire period (4 years) of perestroika.

This is an excerpt from the two-day discussion opened by Albert Vlasov, chairman of the Board of the Novosti Press Agency (APN), at the Moscow forum of six European periodicals, which MN has already reported on. The lively and at times poignant discussions involved 45 speakers, including 15 people's deputies of the USSR.

Questions came from Eugenio Scalfari, Alberto Ronchey, Mario Pirani, Alberto Jacoviello, Paolo Flores d'Arcais from LA REPUBBLICA (Italy), Jacques Julliard, Jean-Paul Enthoven, Andre Buguier from LE

NOUVEL OBSERVATEUR (France), Juan Luis Cebrian, Francisco Gonzalez Bastera, Miguel Bastenier from EL PAIS (Spain), Peter Jenkins from THE INDEPENDENT (Britain).

Their questions were answered by Yuri Afanasyev, Leonid Batkin, Nina Belyayeva, Anatoly Butenko, Igor Vinogradov, Oleg Yefremov, Yuri Karyakin, Elem Klimov, Igor Klyamkin, Vladlen Krivosheyev, Andrei Nuihin, Nikolai Petrakov, Eldar Ryazanov, Roald Sagdeyev, Lyudmila Saraskina, Vasily Selyunin, Vladimir Tikhonov, Yuri Chernichenko, Nikolai Shmelev, Alexander Yakovlev, Yegor Yakovlev, and other Soviet academics, political writers and cultural figures.

The discussion touched on the following three topics: the political situation, the economic situation, and the role of intellectuals at the present stage of perestroika.

At the final session, Juan Luis Cebrian shared his impressions: "We are amazed at the degree of freedom we have witnessed in Moscow. I know much is yet to be done to achieve such freedom also in the Soviet media. At the same time, I am positive that no one, or almost no one, in Spain would believe what it is possible to say and hear in the Soviet Union these days."

Soviet participants in the dialogue never tried to hide anything. The form itself didn't look at all like a "meeting of professionals." You could feel that our Western counterparts were not impatient to publish what they were hearing at the forum right away. They came to Moscow primarily to **understand** what is going on here. The Soviet participants earnestly tried to help by presenting a real picture. We didn't try to hide the fact that we did not fully understand everything ourselves. This became especially apparent on the second day of discussions dealing with the problem of culture and the role intellectuals play in solving them.

**Igor Vinogradov:** No political activity can count on a real success without having deep moral foundations. Meanwhile, the crisis at the grassroots level has caused confusion, while there is silence at the level where public thought is generated.

**Leonid Batkin (political journalist and historian):** Cultural and moral values are not invented, they are not to be preached or introduced by any general decision no matter how sincere. Faith in something firm and immutable can only exist in a society, whose structures are reliable, where people have a vital interest.

This dualism has yet to be overcome.

As regards political and economic problems, with all the often opposing points of view, the Soviet participants succeeded in satisfying their guests' curiosity.



The diversity of views at the current stage of perestroika is quite understandable. The general concept of perestroika does not exclude the existence of a great number of "personal concepts" which may diverge from the general concept. The plurality of ideas about perestroika's speed, methods, and even its final objective reflects the plurality of social interests and personal assessments, based on individual experiences and world views.

**'Perestroika From the Bottom' Is a Fact**

**Yuri Afanasyev (Rector of Moscow Institute for Historian-Archivists, people's deputy of the USSR):** In addition to the official version of perestroika, a new one is in the making which is fundamentally different. The way the Congress goes, one becomes convinced that the Party apparatus is unwilling to recognize this new version. Hence the controversial situation. In actual fact, perestroika is yet to start.

**Mikhail Poltoranin (APN political analyst, people's deputy of the USSR):** In the four years before the Congress, the engine of perestroika was accumulating steam as it were. Now it's full steam ahead. I just hope that all the steam isn't wasted on the whistle.

**Yegor Yakovlev (Editor-in-Chief of "MN", people's deputy of the USSR):** Appetite comes with eating, and we naturally want more things with every passing day. But it wouldn't be fair to forget about what has been already achieved. The recognition that the individual and his rights are valuable in themselves is a real fact of social conscience now. The dismantling of the iron curtain is a real fact of politics. The people's social activity and their rapid politicization are not only real facts, and the basis of social life. Many worthy and respected people are sitting in the Congress thanks to the active participation of people.

**Nina Belyayeva (research fellow of the Institute of State and Law):** Let's see what we are restructuring and what we have already restructured. Our political reality is such that we have at least three levels: the upper one is made up of the political and legal institutes which serve our ideology; the medium level is where the social forces interact through the practical application of laws; the lower level is the sphere where political culture and the political activity of citizens are in evidence. The colossal rift between the two first levels compelled perestroika "from above." At the time nobody gave serious thought to the third level. Now the situation has radically changed. It is now easier to see signs of perestroika at the third level. Those signs aren't transitory, but rather a grass-roots building of long-term stable structures of public self-government. There has been a step forward at the middle level (the Law of Elections) and right after, two steps back (the curtailment of political freedom and the cooperative movement). Clashing at this level are the administrative forces from above and the democratic

forces of all grass-roots. In each instance, their correlation at the moment is of decisive importance. If the **political** system as the set of real legal relations is to be really changed, not just in form, real perestroika would start by tipping the precarious balance in favour of democratic forces.

The forum revealed a great variety of assessments of the Congress of People's Deputies, ranging from the pessimistic "the Congress has run into a stone wall," to a rather cautiously realistic "the Congress has confirmed the progressive trend of development." Voters watching live the proceedings of the Congress could see what kind of people they elected on March 26, an occasion described by one of the participants in the forum as "an unusual event in our history, where for the first time political activity of millions of people was prompted by the common interests of democracy, rather than by consideration of a regional, national or ecological nature." The Party apparatus, according to many participants in the discussion, with its conservative majority, was scared by the popular choice in March. This fear led to the tragedy in Tbilisi, to the attack on Gorbachev from the right undertaken by a number of Central Committee members at the April Plenary Meeting, to the solid majority at the Congress.

Many speakers analyzed the role of the CPSU in perestroika and its place in the structure of a law-governed state. The audience heard this striking paradox from Mario Piranie: "The CPSU did not take part in the elections as a political party. This is the only explanation of the fact that Communists contested seats in the same constituencies." The Soviet participants heard this difficult question from Paolo Flores d'Arcais: "How can one transform the majority within the Party, so that it does not sabotage perestroika?"

One of the participants said it would be a bad mistake to judge the Party by its executive apparatus. The CPSU has many honest and intrepid members who are convinced and active advocates of perestroika. It was they who won in the March 26 elections. What many called a sudden defeat for a considerable section of Party bureaucrats rather testified to the voters' political maturity.

No one denied that alongside devoted advocates of renewal in the Party you still see people who believe in Brezhnev's lack of principles and survivals of Stalinist ideology. But it is the new thinking that can alone provide the basis for a progressive "transformation of the majority within the Party."

The problem of "opposition" caused much debate. Does it exist at all? Nina Belyayeva thinks that opposition to the bureaucratic apparatus, which was in clear evidence during the election campaign, is a reality. Some foreign participants were bewildered. They thought that a real opposition sharing the same plank would necessitate a

second political party in a society ruled by one party. Anatoly Butenko countered: "If a position substantially differs from the official one, is this not opposition?"

Asking about Mikhail Gorbachev's relations with people close to him, Paolo d'Arcais raised the subject of "leadership."

Here are some of the views voiced on the score:

**Andre Buguier:** Many people in France think that Gorbachev has succeeded in glasnost and that he'll fail in perestroika.

**Mikhail Poltoranin:** I think Gorbachev is far more left than ourselves on many issues, and he is a greater realist than ourselves.

**Yuri Afanasyev:** perestroika's present and future hinges on Gorbachev. But if you compare the importance of his initiative with the payoff, the latter is far less impressive.

**Eugenio Scalfari:** If you make too much haste, that may play into the hands of the opponents of Gorbachev and perestroika.

The variety of views shows the complexity and conflicting nature of the political situation in the USSR today. The picture is so dynamic that no "still photo" can size it up precisely. But it is plain that in the wake of the March 26 elections, Soviet political reform stopped being a policy conducted exclusively from the top. The four-year lesson in democracy for the people has resulted in democratic action, and has stirred the masses to political activity that is eroding the power of the apparat. When the people are free enough to start looking for a way out of the crisis themselves, we can afford to be optimistic.

#### **Paying Old Bills**

**Juan Luis Cebrian (Editor of EL PAIS, Spain):** You are conducting a new economic policy but we cannot see to what extent it favours the idea of the market, and what the likely role of a market system in the USSR will be.

**Nikolai Petrakov (people's deputy of the USSR, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences):**

The market is our only chance to let socialist democracy into the economy. The market ensures independence of economic units and does not necessarily mean exploitation. On the positive side, the market makes for equal exchange and more democratic relationships. Things that we need. The market and socialism are closely related ideas. In fact, the ideals of socialism can't be put into effect without the market. But the drama of the situation lies in that we must introduce a market system while the financial system lies in ruins. It is for this reason that we are urged to take emergency measures to

eliminate all the problems. Only after these measures, we are told, will the market be introduced. In the meantime, we're pinning our hopes once again on a "wise tsar."

The economic problems of perestroika proved to be the focus of the forum. As one of the participants rightly remarked, you have to be an economist if you live in the USSR today.

Society is increasingly worried about the state of finances, the investment policy, the undecided farm policy, and the level of competence of those who control the national economy. The interest shown by Western journalists in these problems once again indicated that people outside the USSR are also worried about perestroika's future. People in other countries also realize that the channel that Soviet economic and political reforms must navigate is extremely narrow, and the dangerous reefs in it are inflation, the ecological crisis and nationalism.

What is to be done, if on the one hand, there is the understandable desire to live a better life, and, on the other, there is a gravely ill economy? Unjustifiable social optimism can also prove upsetting to society.

The budget deficit is growing. While today it stands at more than one hundred billion roubles, it could soar to 160-180 billion by end of this five-year period. This will happen unless some major economic and social programmes are cut back. It was forecast that realistically it will be extremely difficult to avoid a deterioration of the living standard in the coming five years.

With stable prices fixed by the state, it is hard to correctly diagnose the level of inflation. As our guests remarked, there is another thing that attests to the deterioration of the economy: the size of the shadow economy in relation to that of the state. According to some estimates, the ratio is extremely unfavourable: 70-80 billion roubles changing hands outside the government channels is the crop of our shadow economy. And if one wants to know where this shadow economy comes from, the answer is: it is created by the state monopoly of management and planning of the national economy.

"What is effective in the sphere of the economy is illegal, and vice versa. This principle gave rise to the shadow economy in the years of Stalin's great change," said Alexander Yakovlev, LLD, and people's deputy of the USSR.

Yes, indeed, we are paying up the old bills of the Stalin and Brezhnev times not only with the depreciating rouble and empty shelves, but also with the stable social stereotypes. It is difficult, for example, to talk about social justice, being aware that those who make combine harvesters which roll off the assembly line right into the repair shop; and televisions which go up in flames, are paid well, and feel no shame for their poor quality output.

And another stereotype: for decades the apparat was weeding out in the countryside the very idea of owing [as printed] land, with the result that today few people are prepared to own it. "To feed the country would mean to lessen the social tensions," said Yuri Chernichenko. Explaining the difficulties of land leasing, member of the All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences and people's deputy of the USSR Vladimir Tikhonov concluded: "I was its advocate but today the idea of land leasing has come up against monumental opposition from the rural bureaucracy: state farm directors, chairmen of collective farms. We have to make another step—to denationalize land."

While the range of topics included specific facts of our life, and the nature and the future of socialism, many speakers said that socialism needs full-scale commodity production and that this is impossible without a market. And that it is not socialism at all if the country is not adequately fed, and where presses printing more and more paper money are about to start printing food ration cards in the bargain.

They say that the economy starts where people realize that their resources are finite. We are perhaps the last people in Europe to do so, but we are close to understanding this simple truth.

### **Revolutionary Changes in Socialist World 'Inevitable'**

18120110 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 28, 16-23 Jul 89 p 3

[Article by Oleg Bogomolov, academician, people's deputy of the USSR: "Socialism's Changing Image"]

[Text] A wave of renewal is rising in the socialist part of the world, and even though it hasn't as yet involved a number of countries, one feels the growing inevitability of deep revolutionary changes.

It is based on the crisis of Stalinist and neo-Stalinist models of society, which was deepening over decades, before it became obvious that these models have no future. The growing lag behind the West in technical progress and labour productivity, the population's standard of living, inflation, the chronic deficit of many necessary goods, the non-competitiveness of the majority of manufactured goods, the fall in the rates of economic growth, the increased sluggishness and bureaucracy in the Party and state mechanism, and the low, dependent situation of man in society—such are the most characteristic expressions of crisis which developed.

Ever more facts show us that the real socialism of the Stalinist or neo-Stalinist type has been considerably discredited and the faith in its "advantages" has been lost. The latest events in Hungary and Poland testify to this. However, the socialist ideas of a more perfect and just public order than that of the capitalist system, are

alive and continue to inspire people. The desire is strong to purge socialism of deformations, of elements of utopianism, to go back to the concepts of Lenin in his last works. There is a desire to restore the general democratic and humanist values, and to absorb all the best that has been achieved by human civilization. Such a desire motivates perestroika in the USSR, and exists also in many other socialist countries.

The attempts made several times in countries of Eastern Europe to renew and achieve perestroika (in 1956, 1968 and 1980) involved only separate countries, were often accompanied by alien, negative phenomena and were interrupted by force, preventing radical change. Still they served as heralds of future transformations, although only a few people could discern the outlines of the future in them, perestroika in the USSR opened a new phase in the development of this transforming process.

It was born, above all, out of the specific conditions of our country and does not claim to be an example for others. It has substantially improved the general climate, allowing for new ways of socialist development. Eastern Europe was faced with problems very much like ours, because it developed mainly according to the Soviet model—either imposed upon it, or uncritically accepted in the post-war years. That's why the changes in the USSR were echoed there, and strengthened East European reformist forces.

It is hard not to notice the uneven and at times inconsistent development of the renewal process in the socialist countries. The situation that took shape in China is the latest confirmation of this. And, as has happened in the past, we cannot exclude temporary setbacks. But the very sharpness of problems and contradictions which the socialist countries face requires a radical social change. This need has matured objectively, irrespective of how the society and leadership evaluate the situation today.

It is too early as yet to think that an integral, internally united and well-functioning system has already taken shape in real life, which could be rightly called a qualitatively new state of socialism, a state which corresponds to our ideals and demands, which makes it possible to dispose of resources more rationally than under capitalism, to consciously and in a planned way guide economic processes, reducing to a minimum the elements of chance, to avoid crises, etc.

New is born in two directions. Firstly, scientists and practical workers jointly work out the theoretical idea of socialism, creating a new vision of how it should function on the threshold of the 21st century. Secondly, in a number of countries many experiments are going on and new islands of activity appear, which provide food for thought about future social relations.

When analyzing what is today changing in the public life of Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, China, Yugoslavia and other countries, when trying to understand the essence of their practical use of market relations, different forms of ownership (including private property), and allowing political pluralism and multi-party system (the so-called constructive opposition)—one arrives at the conclusion that these countries act as a sort of a proving ground, in which the different ways of dealing with contemporary problems are being worked out and tested.

The future will show which of the innovations will stand the test of time and what fails. One thing is obvious—the collective experience of the renewal of socialism today is vital to perestroika.

### **Sakharov Termed 'Courageous Builder of Perestroika'**

18120109 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English  
No 28, 16-23 Jul 89 p 12

[Article by Stanislav Kondrashov: "A Man at the Rostrum"]

[Text] There were only a few such hero nonconformists. And the best known of them was Academician Andrei Sakharov, who spoke from the world rostrum, which was dangerous at the time, since the Soviet floor was taken by other speakers.

After the early 80s, we should remember the recent episode, when the majority at the Congress of People's Deputies seemed quite eager to hassle precisely this courageous builder of perestroika. History hides a devilish irony under a mask of seriousness, and loves to express it in clashes of personalities. And it showed us, as the initiator of the hassling, an Afghan veteran, who is now a city Komsomol leader, who would have stood at the rostrum on his own feet and not on artificial ones if Soviet leaders had listened to this dissident and exiled Academician, and pulled the troops out of Afghanistan.

But did the veteran know that he chose as a target for his patriotic indignation the only man of his kind who had steadfastly protested from the very beginning against the Afghan adventure? And did those ordinary deputies who supported the veteran realize this?

Apparently, the explanation is not only in not knowing. I think it is also in the distorted understanding of patriotism, and in the psychology of loyalty and servility, which fundamentally doesn't want to realize the rightness of the person who was sometimes persecuted as a person disobedient to the state. This psychology expects from him only obedience and gratitude to the authorities, who after all had pardoned him, and brought him back from exile, and made him one of their own. And the "thankless" one, in the meantime, doesn't want to humble himself, and as before cherishes his right to independent judgement as the most sacred right of all.

The new relations of power towards the independent personality are put to the test in the example of Andrei Sakharov—in political practice, rather than in declarations, and in the new relations between official ideology and "dissidence." Being a people's deputy he is already an element in the new political structure. But this people's deputy is still being more warmly greeted abroad than he is at home. After the Congress Sakharov went to the Netherlands and England to receive honorary degrees from various universities, including Oxford, where he was described as the "greatest defender of human rights." And then he said that at the Congress he hadn't been given time for his statement. Here is a quote from his speech at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London: "It isn't yet clear where we are going. It would be an error to think that we've already set out on the correct road. It does exist, but the direction of our future development will depend on how the events develop in the next few months or years. In these conditions I call on the West to be extremely cautious in its relations with the USSR, because the things that may seem to be assistance now, in real life may prove to be a method of pushing the illness deep inside and holding back the necessary political changes."

How are we to approach these assessments and advice which, granted the author's name and influence in the West, may influence the chances of getting credits there? I'll put the question more broadly: why do we need political pluralism? Is it to achieve the unity we are so used to, having persuaded or forced the dissenting minority into line? If this is so, then we're dealing with a misunderstanding of democracy's essence, or we're merely playing at democracy.

Or is pluralism, including organized pluralism, needed at all levels? Pluralism, like a perpetuum mobile, which has existed for centuries in parliamentary democracies, as the most effective method of choosing a direction and as a means of changing direction, in the name of the interests of different public groups and of all the people? Pluralism exists for practical use, and not for show.

Sakharov thinks that the Congress didn't treat seriously enough, either him or his (and not only his) proposal on the Decree of Power. He judges the limited results of our democratic process by this and a number of other real facts. And he makes his conclusions. Going abroad and finding there an attentive, authoritative audience, and stating his doubts and warnings about perestroika, he uses every means of political struggle he can. According to the old yardsticks, to speak about our own "pains" in front of "aliens," to sweep the garbage out of one's own house is anti-patriotism. But Sakharov is impervious to such charges. Over 20 years ago, he got over the widespread Russian illusion that the interpretation of truth and patriotism belongs to the bosses, and he proved he was right in the most substantial things. Time and the development of Soviet society were in his favour and rejected those who suppressed him.



It is easier for me, an international journalist specializing in the USA, to see the common human traits in Andrei Sakharov's fate and views. The substantial trends in his activities remind me of another Nobel Prize winner—the American Martin Luther King. Yes, the countries are different, so are the systems. King was a powerful figure in the USA, and led millions of black and white countrymen, but Sakharov's voice in the past could not reach the Soviet people from the "mute underground" of our society as he had once put it. The few people who had the same thoughts as he did and tried to protect the law were dispersed in camps and special mental clinics. But the Soviet physicist fought as selflessly for human rights as the US Baptist pastor did for black civil rights. One spoke against the US war in Vietnam, the other—against Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. And, naturally, both were distinguished by truly humanistic, genuinely human aspirations, of which the maker of the Soviet H-Bomb was, maybe, distinguished even more than the American. King was killed at 39 in the troubled year 1968 when, under the influence of the "Prague spring," the 47-year-old nuclear physicist took a fateful step, and made his debut in the public scene.

At the time, I wrote a book about King, but these two names have come together in my mind only recently. We international journalists were not interested in prophets at home, and only recently did I read for the first time Sakharov's first work which marked the beginning of his torments—**Progress, Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom**. It was published in June 1968.

Already at the time Sakharov offered a programme of transformations in our country, and it is amazing to what extent it coincides with the official programme of perestroika. For example, the Law on Press and Information, which "is designed not only to liquidate, irresponsible ideological censorship, but also to encourage in all possible ways self-education in our society, to encourage the spirit of fearless discussion and the search for the truth." Pluralism is absent among his proposals, but the essence of this phenomenon is conveyed in the persistent calls for freedom of opinions, discussions, and conscience. Glasnost is one of the main words. Human rights is one of the main accents, and it grows stronger as time goes on, because the rights were more and more liquidated by the machine for suppressing dissent, and in Sakharov's imagination it became the foundation for both a democratic internal development of the country and, from the point of view of the international reputation of the USSR, for peaceful coexistence with the West. Already in 1968 he proposed "to expose fully the complete truth about Stalinism, and to limit as much as possible the influence of neo-Stalinists."

The Academician didn't say that he was the author of these thoughts. They were flying in the wind and were shared by many educated Soviet people. He referred to humanists like Albert Schweitzer and Linus Pauling. Here are his initial ideas: the first—"the disunity of humanity threatens it with death"; the second—"human

society needs intellectual freedom." The new thinking was there not so much in terminology, as in the general trend of the author's thought: "Any activity that increases humankind's disunity, or any preaching of the incompatibility of world ideologies and nations is madness and a crime, when faced with danger.... Only world cooperation... answers the interests of the preservation of civilization."

This way of thinking, naturally, did not harmonize with access to super-secret military research. The author was removed from this kind of work. His book did not find its way into the Soviet press, but was eagerly published in the West, and for nearly 20 years he could reach his countrymen only by such a roundabout and dangerous way. This prolonged forced isolation from his society and his compatriots, and forced reliance on the West and the mass media there, have determined Sakharov's life and method of public survival and, apparently, cannot but continue to influence his behaviour even now.

It looks like the stamp of dissidence imprinted by Brezhnev's censorship hasn't been lifted as yet. This is one of the explanations (and, maybe, the main one) of that horrible misunderstanding which I mentioned above. And it is a paradox of our days when those who left or are dead are published more readily than a great man who is alive and active.

Reading Sakharov, both his early and present-day works, one is struck by the evolution of his views. It is a historical reading in the sense that it helps us understand the history of our time. We can already say both about Sakharov's life and his destiny that they are historic. History chooses unusual people and reveals itself through the drama of their lives. And in a certain sense only Andrei Dmitriyevich Sakharov, among our contemporaries, has achieved this rendezvous with history.

Here is a brief biography by an outsider: The period of the 50s and 60s was his historic period, when the young brilliant scientist soared to the summit of glory—to the circle of those wielding power. He became an Academician, and three times was awarded the Hero of Socialist Labour, thanks to his contribution to his country's thermonuclear might. And it was then that he experienced his first doubts and started to struggle, alarmed by the leadership's intoxication with this might, and by the many nuclear blasts in the atmosphere, from which, as he knows, nameless thousands upon thousands are dying. The humanitarian conquered the physicist, and he wrote his "seditious" thoughts on paper. Thus he turned from a pampered favourite into a dissident, who felt the full might of his own state turned against him. The long stagnation of the 1970s, the frequent campaigns in which many of his former colleagues took part, the removal of his titles and awards, the Nobel Prize, awarded to him as an outcast in his own country,

I don't know whether the far-sighted Academician foresaw that his country would again turn to him, but he continued to live in accord with his conscience and understanding of public and moral duty. He issued the strongest possible protest against sending Soviet troops to Afghanistan, and was exiled to Gorky, which is closed for foreigners, to deprive him of communications with the world. Those were oppressive days, full of unpleasant episodes.

Such is Sakharov, through Stalin's, Khrushchev's and Brezhnev's times, in the context of our country's crisis, and those unseen changes in social opinion which, at long last, after three general secretaries in three years, a change in generations at the helm, started the process of perestroika. There is no more expressive symbol of perestroika than Sakharov—in a line to the rostrum and on the rostrum of the Congress—only three years ago an exile with no rights, and now a people's deputy. And no longer a lone knight in the field.

Early in March 1971 he sent Leonid Brezhnev a note expressing a desire to meet and discuss the questions which are key questions in our reforms of today: glasnost, setting up a law-governed state, the protection of human rights, the abolition of privileges for the nomenklatura, putting an end to "elections without choice," economic reform, the relations of national Republics, and questions of disarmament, including on-site inspection (at the time this was treason!). He received no answer.

And now he is in the same hall with the people to whom the Constitution has entrusted the supreme power in the country, and Mikhail Gorbachev gave the floor to the former dissident seven times (he kept counted [as printed] himself). But what's this? "Noise in the hall," says the stenographer's report dispassionately, much more dispassionate than the TV screen whose images are etched in my mind. Five times, there was "noise in the hall" during a 10-minute speech. And at the end, the report repeats dryly three times: "Sakharov A.D. (cannot be heard)." He couldn't be heard because the mike at the rostrum was switched off. And this, by the way, is also a moment in history. Let's hope it won't be an indication of what the future has in store. Of course, there are always too many speakers, and too little time, but we'd better listen closely to this special speaker.

#### **Leningrad United Workers' Front Statement on Miners' Strike**

18001497 Moscow TRUD in Russian 30 Jul 89 p 1

[Report by M. Belousov, TRUD correspondent: "Heated Discussions"]

[Text] **Leningrad—At a roundtable organized by the Leningrad United Workers Front a heated and interesting exchange of opinions took place regarding the problems of the upcoming elections of the local organs of power.**

Representatives of workers collectives from the industrial centers of the Urals, Siberia, and the Volga region as well as several USSR peoples' deputies who had visited the Kuzbass region took part in the discussions along with the Leningraders.

The participants of the "roundtable" adopted an address to the workers collectives in connection with the strikes in the Kuzbass and Donbass. In this document it says: "Our comrades the miners, in connection with the deterioration of their situation, the insolubility of the social problems, and the nonfulfillment of the adopted resolutions, resorted to extreme means—a strike, no longer wishing to wait until the numerous promises given by the directors of various ranks are fulfilled. Strike committees were elected which presented the demands of the workers to the administration and took upon themselves the maintenance of order and the solution of the social-economic problems on the territory of the Kuzbass and the Donbass. By the end of the strikes, these committees were transformed into workers' committees and will verify the fulfillment of the adopted solutions and defend the interests of the workers.

We consider that in this way the workers have arrived at a rebirth of the primary cells of Soviet power, elected in workers' collectives...."

At the same time in Leningrad an organizational-coordinating committee of the United Workers Front of the Russian Federation, which undertook to prepare for the constituent congress of the republic-level United Workers Front, was created.

#### **Lithuanian SSR Draft Law on Referendums Published**

18001399 Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
29 Jun 89 pp 1-3

["Lithuanian SSR Draft Law on Referendums"]

[Text]

#### **Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic on the Lithuanian SSR Draft Law on Referendums**

In accordance with the Lithuanian SSR Law on National Discussion of Important Issues of State Life," passed on 11 November 1987, the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet decrees:

1. To publish the Draft Lithuanian SSR Law on Referendums in republic newspapers for public discussion and to conclude it by 10 August 1989.

2. To propose to the legal department and the department on work of the Soviets of the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet to summarize the proposals and comments on the Draft Lithuanian SSR Law



on Referendums received during the course of public discussion and to submit them to the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

■Signed■ Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR V. Astrauskas

Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian SSR L. Sabutis

Vilnius, 21 June 1989

## **Lithuanian SSR Draft Law on Referendums**

### **I. General Provisions**

#### **Article 1. Fundamentals of a Referendum**

In accordance with the Lithuanian SSR Constitution, the most important issues of state and social life of the republic are decided and laws of the Lithuanian SSR can be passed by referendum.

A referendum is announced by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

#### **Article 2. General Principles of Holding a Referendum**

Participation in a referendum is free and is based on democratic principles of suffrage (on universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot).

Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who have reached the age of 18 years have the right to participate in a referendum.

Mentally ill citizens considered incompetent by the court, individuals imprisoned based on a judicial sentence (decree) or in connection with a criminal investigation, and also individuals sent to places of compulsory treatment do not participate in a referendum.

Citizens participate in a referendum on equal grounds. Each citizen has one vote in a referendum.

The referendum is direct. Citizens participate in a referendum directly and in person.

Voting on a referendum is by secret ballot, and monitoring citizens' expression of their will is not permitted.

Any direct or indirect restrictions of citizens' rights to participate in a referendum depending on origin, social and property status, race and nationality, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, political and other convictions, length of residency in a given locality, or line and nature of work are prohibited.

#### **Article 3. Agitation on the Referendum**

Labor collectives, social organizations and social movements, and citizens are guaranteed the right of unimpeded agitation for a proposal on announcement of a

referendum, passage of a law, or other decision being submitted to a referendum, and also against a proposal on announcement of a referendum, passage of a law, or other decision.

To implement this right, the individuals and organizations concerned are provided facilities for meetings and rallies and ensured the opportunity to use the mass media. Citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, labor collectives, social organizations, and social movements can use their own resources for conducting agitation work.

Agitation is not permitted on the day of the referendum.

#### **Article 4. Openness in Preparing for and Holding the Referendum**

Referendum commissions prepare for and hold the referendum openly and in public.

Referendum commissions inform citizens about their work; the formation of voting precincts; the composition, location, and operating hours of the commissions; and lists of voters eligible to participate in the referendum.

Observers from labor collectives, social organizations, and social movements, as well as observers from electorate meetings, and representatives of the press, television, and radio have the right to attend sessions of the referendum commissions, including during the counting of votes at the voting precinct and when determining the results of the voting and the referendum.

Draft laws and other most important issues of state and social life of the republic submitted to a referendum are published in the press, promulgated over television and radio, or the populace is informed about them by other means.

The mass media covers the course of preparing for and holding a referendum; they are guaranteed free access to all meetings and sessions associated with the referendum. Referendum commissions, state and social bodies, and labor collectives supply them with information associated with organizing and holding the referendum.

#### **Article 5. Material Support of the Referendum**

Expenses associated with preparing for and holding a referendum are paid by the state.

Enterprises, institutions and organizations, and state and social bodies make available for referendum commissions the facilities and equipment needed to organize and hold a referendum.

**Article 6. Responsibility for Violating the Lithuanian SSR Law on Referendums** Individuals who impede, by means of coercion, deception, threat, or other means, a citizen of the Lithuanian SSR from freely exercising the right to participate in a referendum or conduct agitation, and also members of referendum commissions and officials of state and social bodies who forge documents for holding a referendum, knowingly miscount votes, violate the secrecy of voting, or commit other violations of this law are held responsible by law.

## **II. Announcing a Referendum**

### **Article 7. Types of Referendums**

Referendums can be mandatory or optional. Mandatory referendums are announced by the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet on its own initiative on questions of exercising the right to self-determination of Lithuania, approving the newly adopted Republic Constitution, approving constitutional amendments, approving laws concerning significant questions of the legal status of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, and ratifying and denouncing the most important international treaties.

Optional referendums can be held on other issues, including on passing Lithuanian SSR laws.

### **Article 8. Right of Initiative To Announce an Optional Referendum**

The right of initiative to announce an optional referendum belongs to the deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and to the people. Members of the legislative body exercise this right on the proposal of at least one-third of the deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the people's initiative is expressed in the form of proposals submitted by 300,000 citizens of the Lithuanian SSR having the right to vote.

This procedure may be also used to make proposals to announce a referendum on issues subject to mandatory referendum.

### **Article 9. Procedure for Exercising the Right of Initiative To Announce a Referendum**

A proposal to announce a referendum is addressed to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. It must indicate the title of the draft law or other issue of state and social life of the republic being submitted for decision by referendum. An unlimited number of citizens can sign such a proposal-declaration. The full name, date of birth, place of residence, and date are indicated opposite each signature.

The authenticity of the signatures and the Lithuanian SSR citizenship of the declarants are notarized. This can also be verified by heads of state institutions and organizations. If a group of signatures is verified by one notation, it must indicate the total number of declarants listed on the declaration.

Authenticity of signatures of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet submitting a proposal to announce a referendum as well as their affiliation with the Supreme Soviet are verified for by the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

### **Article 10. Time Periods for Citizens To Exercise the Right of Initiative To Announce a Referendum**

A one-month time period is established citizens to exercise the right to announce a referendum on a specific issue. This period begins from the time the initiative is registered by a group of citizens of the Lithuanian SSR, consisting of at least 10 persons having the right to vote, at a rayon (city) Soviet of People's Deputies, where an appropriate registration document is compiled. One copy of this document is sent to the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet no later than the day after registration.

Based on the copy of the registration document, the initiative group has the right to make a corresponding message in the press and organize to collect signatures of citizens.

Proposals from citizens to announce a referendum are gathered by the initiative group or, by arrangement, by the rayon (city) Soviet of People's Deputies. After collecting 300,000 signatures of Lithuanian SSR citizens in the prescribed time period for proposing announcement of a referendum, the initiative group compiles a final act, which is sent by mail or given directly to the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet along with the citizens' proposals. By arrangement, these actions can be carried out by a state notary public.

If the necessary number of signatures of Lithuanian SSR citizens have not been gathered within the one-month time period, further collection of signatures is suspended. Another initiative to announce a referendum on the same issue is authorized no sooner than 1 year later.

### **Article 11. Preliminary Consideration of Citizens' Proposals on Announcing a Referendum**

On receiving the documents on announcing a referendum, within a 10-day period the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet checks them and, after ascertaining that they are not at variance with the law, passes the final act of the citizen initiative group along with its conclusion to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

If minor inaccuracies in the documents or a slight shortage of signatures (up to 0.5 percent) is established, the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet informs the initiative group of this and sets a 10-day period for eliminate these shortcomings. After these requirements have been fulfilled within the established time period, the proposal on announcing a referendum is considered further in the general procedure.

If significant violations of the law (missing the deadlines for exercising the right of initiative for no legitimate reasons, the lack of the necessary number of signatures of Lithuanian SSR citizens, forgery of citizens' signatures or notations verifying the authenticity of the signatures, violating the principle of voluntary participation in gathering the signatures) are ascertained in the documents submitted, the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet turns down for reason the proposal on announcing the referendum and informs the citizen initiative group concerned and also the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet about this. The citizen initiative group has a right to appeal this decision to the Constitutional Court of the Lithuanian SSR within 1 month.

**Article 12. Procedure for Adopting a Resolution of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet on a Proposal on Announcing a Referendum**

On receiving a proposal on announcing a referendum, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet adopts one of the following resolutions:

- 1) on announcing a referendum;
- 2) on turning down the proposal to announce a referendum.

A resolution on announcing a referendum is adopted by a majority of more than half the total number of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A proposal on announcing a referendum submitted in the form of a people's initiative has imperative force; therefore, the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet can turn it down only by adopting a justified resolution by at least a two-thirds majority of the total number of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The time period mentioned in this article is suspended during the period between sessions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

**Article 13. Content of Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet Resolution on Announcing a Referendum**

When adopting a resolution on announcing a referendum, simultaneously the date the referendum is to be held is determined and the title of the draft law or specific issues of state and social life of the republic to be submitted for referendum are indicated. The date the referendum is to be held is set at not later than 2 months from the day the resolution is adopted.

The resolution on announcing a referendum is published in the republic press for a 3-day period. Not later than 10 days after publishing the resolution in the press, the draft law being law or other decision being submitted for referendum is also promulgated. In cases of making changes to a draft, they must be reported to the press at least 1 week before the day of the referendum.

**III. Preparing for a Referendum**

**Article 14. Referendum Commissions**

The following commissions are formed to prepare for and hold a referendum:

- 1) a republic referendum commission;
- 2) rayon or city referendum commissions;
- 3) precinct referendum commissions.

**Article 15. Forming a Republic Referendum Commission**

A republic referendum commission, consisting of a chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and 14 commission members, is formed by the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet taking into account the suggestions of higher bodies of state power of the Lithuanian SSR, social organizations and social movements in the person of their republic bodies, and also of the initiative group, usually no later than 1 month before the referendum.

**Article 16. Powers of the Republic Referendum Commission**

The republic referendum commission:

- 1) monitors execution of this law on the entire territory of the Lithuanian SSR and ensures uniformity of its application; if necessary, submits to the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet a recommendation on interpretation of this law;
- 2) directs the activities of rayon and city referendum commissions; determines the procedure for making changes to the composition of referendum commissions;
- 3) distributes monies among referendum commissions; oversees providing referendum commissions with facilities, transport, and communications, and reviews other questions of logistics support;
- 4) prescribes the forms of lists of citizens eligible to participate in a referendum and other documents for holding the referendum, the samples of ballot boxes, and the procedure for storing documents for holding the referendum;
- 5) hears reports of state and social bodies on issues associated with preparing for and holding the referendum;
- 6) ascertains the referendum results for the republic as a whole and publishes in the press a report on the referendum results;

7) reviews statements and complaints about the decisions and actions of referendum commissions and renders the final decisions on them;

8) exercises other powers in accordance with this law.

**Article 17. Forming Rayon and City Referendum Commissions**

The rayon or city referendum commission, made up of 9-11 members, is formed by the presidiums of rayon and city soviets of people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR, as a rule, no later than 1 month before the referendum.

Representatives to the rayon and city referendum commissions are nominated by labor collectives or their soviets, by republic, rayon, city, and city-rayon bodies of social organizations and social movements, and by citizen meetings according to place of residence.

**Article 18. Powers of Rayon and City Referendum Commissions**

The rayon or city referendum commission:

1) monitors execution of this law on the territory of the rayon or city;

2) establishes a uniform numbering of voting precincts;

3) directs the activities of precinct referendum commissions;

4) hears reports from leaders of local bodies of state administration, enterprises, institutions, and organizations on issues associated with preparing for and holding a referendum;

5) supervises the submission of lists of citizens eligible to participate in a referendum for general familiarization;

6) ensures that the precinct referendum commissions are supplied with voting ballots;

7) ascertains the referendum results for the rayon or city;

8) reviews statements and complaints about the decisions and actions of precinct referendum commissions and makes decisions on them;

9) exercises other powers in accordance with this law.

**Article 19. Forming Voting Precincts**

For conducting the voting and counting up the votes, the territory of rayons or cities is divided into voting precincts, as a rule, corresponding to the electoral precincts formed for elections of deputies of soviets of people's deputies of the Lithuanian SSR.

Voting precincts may be formed at sanitariums and rest homes, hospitals and other permanent medical institutions, and also on vessels located at sea on the day of the referendum according to the place they are located or according to the location of the vessel's port of registration.

Voting precincts are formed by the executive committees of rayon and city soviets of people's deputies. On vessels located at sea on the day of the referendum, voting precincts are formed by the executive committees of soviets of people's deputies according to the location of the vessel's port of registration.

Voting precincts are formed, as a rule, no later than 20 days before the referendum. On vessels located at sea on the day of the referendum, voting precincts are formed at the same time period, and in extreme cases no later than 5 days before the referendum.

Voting precincts are formed with not less than 20 and not more than 3,000 citizens eligible to participate in the referendum.

The executive committee of the corresponding Soviet of People's Deputies notifies citizens eligible to participate in the referendum about the boundaries of each voting precinct, indicating the location of the precinct referendum commission and the polling places.

**Article 20. Forming Precinct Referendum Commissions**

A precinct referendum commission, made up of 5-19 members, is formed by the Presidium of the rayon or city Soviet of People's Deputies, as a rule, no later than 20 days before the referendum. The size of the commission may be increased or decreased as necessary.

Members of the precinct referendum commission are nominated by labor collectives or their soviets, by rayon, city, or city-rayon bodies of social organizations and social movements, by their primary organizations, by bodies of social amateur activities of the population, and by meetings of citizens according to place of residence of a given precinct.

**Article 21. Powers of a Precinct Referendum Commission**

A precinct referendum commission:

1) familiarizes referendum participants with the list, accepts and reviews statements on errors on the list, and decides the question of making appropriate changes to it;

2) receives for safekeeping, in instances provided for by this law, absentee voting ballots;

3) notifies citizens of the date of the referendum and the voting location;

4) ensures preparation of the voting facilities and ballot boxes;

5) organizes voting at the voting precinct on the day of the referendum;

6) counts up votes cast at the voting precinct;

7) reviews statements and complaints on questions of preparations for the referendum and on organizing the voting, and makes decisions on them;

8) exercises other powers in accordance with this law.

#### **Article 22. List of Citizens Eligible To Participate in a Referendum**

Lists of voters compiled for elections of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR soviets of people's deputies are used to hold the referendum.

Executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies ensure registration of citizens eligible to participate in the referendum and pass updated lists to the precinct referendum commissions.

Lists for voting precincts formed in sanitariums and rest homes, hospitals and other permanent medical institutions, and also on vessels located at sea on the day of the referendum are compiled based on data submitted by the directors of these institutions and by the captains of the vessels.

The list includes all citizens of the Lithuanian SSR who are 18 years of age on or before the day of the referendum, reside permanently on the territory of the given voting precinct at the time the list is compiled, and are eligible to participate in the referendum.

A citizen participating in the referendum cannot be included on more than one list.

The list is compiled in a procedure convenient for organizing the voting.

The list is submitted for general familiarization at the facilities of precinct referendum commissions 15 days before the referendum, and 2 days before the referendum at voting precincts in sanitariums and rest homes, hospitals and other permanent medical institutions.

Every citizen is granted the right to appeal not being included on a list or being excluded from a list, and also inaccuracies made in the data about him indicated on the list. Statements about errors in the list are reviewed by the precinct referendum commission, which must within a 2-week period, and immediately on the day before or the day of the referendum, review the statement and make the necessary corrections to the list or give the declarant a copy of the justified decision to deny his statement. This decision may be appealed no later

than 5 days before the referendum to the rayon (city) people's court, which must review the appeal within 3 days. The decision of the rayon (city) people's court is final. A correction in accordance with the decision of the court is made immediately by the precinct referendum commission.

A citizen included on the list who will be temporarily outside of the Lithuanian SSR has the right to receive a voting ballot at the precinct commission at least 15 days prior to the start of the referendum and mark it at his discretion. This ballot is placed in a sealed envelope of the prescribed form, left at the precinct referendum commission, and stored until the referendum. The appropriate notation of issuance of a ballot to the citizen is made on the list.

#### **Article 23. Organizing the Work of Referendum Commissions**

The chairman, deputy chairmen, and secretary of a referendum commission are elected at the first meeting of the corresponding commission.

The referendum commission meetings are competent if at least two-thirds of the commission members participate in them. The decisions of the commission are made by open vote of the majority of commission members participating in the meeting. Commission members not agreeing with its decision have the right to express a special opinion in writing. It is attached to the minutes.

Decisions of the referendum commission made within the limits of its powers are compulsory for execution by all state and social bodies, enterprises, institutions, and organizations.

The decisions and actions of the referendum commission can be appealed to a higher referendum commission, and also to a court in the instances specified by this law.

A referendum commission member, by its decision, may be freed from performing production or official duties during the period of preparing for and holding a referendum with retention of this average wage using funds allocated for holding the referendum.

#### **Article 24. Referendum Commissions in the Event of Announcing and Holding Two or More Referendums Simultaneously**

In the event of announcing and holding two or more referendums simultaneously, the commissions formed in the procedure specified by this law are common for all referendums being announced simultaneously.

#### **Article 25. Assistance to Referendum Commissions in Exercising Their Powers**



State and social bodies, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials are obligated to assist referendum commissions in exercising their powers and to provide them the necessary information and materials for their work.

A referendum commission has the right to turn to state and social bodies, enterprises, institutions, organizations, and officials on questions associated with preparing for and holding a referendum. They are obligated to review the question raised and give the referendum commission a reply within 3 days.

#### **Article 26. Voting Ballots**

A voting ballot contains a text addressed to the citizen and answer options of "Yes" and "No".

If two or more referendums are being held simultaneously, the voting ballots used during each of them must differ in color.

The text and form of the voting ballot, as well as the procedure for making the ballots are prescribed by the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

Voting ballots are printed in the Lithuanian language, and if necessary, in the language used by the population of a given precinct.

Precinct referendum commissions are provided voting ballots no later than 5 days before the referendum.

### **IV. Voting and Ascertaining the Results of a Referendum**

#### **Article 27. Time and Place of Voting**

Voting on the day of the referendum is done between the hours of 0700 and 2000. The precinct referendum commission notifies citizens of the time and place of voting at least 10 days before the referendum.

At voting precincts formed on vessels located at sea on the day of the referendum, the precinct referendum commission can declare the voting complete at any time, if all citizens included on the list have voted.

#### **Article 28. Organizing Voting**

Voting is conducted in specially designated rooms which must be equipped with secret ballot booths, have places identified for handing out the ballots, and have ballot boxes installed. The ballot boxes are set up in such a way that voters must go through the secret ballot booths when approaching the boxes.

The corresponding precinct referendum commission is responsible for organizing the voting, ensuring secrecy in expression of one's will, equipping the facilities, and maintaining the necessary order in them.

The draft Lithuanian SSR law or other decision being submitted for referendum must be prominently posted in the voting facilities.

On the day of the referendum, the ballot boxes are sealed by the chairman of the precinct referendum commission in the presence of all commission members before voting begins.

Every participant in the referendum votes in person; voting for others is not permitted. The voting ballots are handed out to the citizen by the precinct referendum commission based on the list of citizens eligible to vote upon presentation of a passport or other identification by the citizen. A notation is made on the list to indicate issuance of the ballot.

When citizens eligible to participate in the referendum cannot come to the voting facility for health or other legitimate reasons, the precinct referendum commission, at their request, instructs commission members to organize voting at the residence of these citizens.

#### **Article 29. Conducting Voting**

Voting ballots are filled out by the referendum participant in a booth equipped for secret voting, where he must be alone. A citizen not able to fill the ballot out on his own has the right, at his discretion, to invite another person other than a referendum commission member into the booth.

A referendum participant crosses out one of the "Yes" or "No" responses contained on the ballot. If two or more referendums are being held simultaneously, the referendum participant receives and fills out separate ballots for each of them.

The referendum participant drops all completed ballots into the ballot box.

Absentee ballots of citizens outside the Lithuanian SSR on the day of the referendum that were turned over to the precinct referendum commission for safekeeping are dropped into the ballot box by the chairman of the referendum commission.

#### **Article 30. Vote Count at the Voting Precinct**

A vote count is made for each voting precinct.

If two or more referendums are held simultaneously, a separate vote count is made for each of them.

Ballot boxes are opened by the precinct referendum commission after the commission chairman declares the voting over. It is prohibited to open the ballot boxes before voting is over. Before opening the ballot boxes, all unused voting ballots are counted up and canceled by the precinct referendum commission.



Based on the list of citizens eligible to participate in the referendum, the precinct referendum commission ascertains the total number of citizens in the precinct and also the number of citizens who received ballots. Based on the ballots located in the ballot boxes, the commission ascertains: the total number of eligible citizens who voted in the referendum; the number of participants who voted in favor of approval of the draft law or other decision submitted for referendum and the number who voted against its approval; the number of ballots considered invalid.

Voting ballots not conforming to the prescribed sample and also ballot having none or both of the responses crossed out are considered invalid. If doubts arise as to the validity of a voting ballot, the issue is resolved by a vote by the precinct referendum commission.

The voting returns are reviewed at a meeting of the precinct referendum commission and entered into the minutes. If two or more referendums are held simultaneously, minutes are compiled separately for each of them.

The minutes are signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission. It is sent to the appropriate rayon or city referendum commission in the procedure prescribed by the Republic Referendum Commission.

#### **Article 31. Ascertaining the Results of a Referendum by Rayon or City**

Based on the minutes of all precinct referendum commissions located in a rayon or city, the rayon or city referendum commission determines: the total number of citizens in the rayon or city who were eligible to participate in the referendum; the number of citizens who received voting ballots; the number of citizens who voted; the number who voted in favor of approval of the draft law or other decision submitted for referendum and the number who voted against its approval; the number of ballots considered invalid.

The rayon or city referendum commission can consider the results of the referendum invalid due to violations of this law committed during the course of voting or when counting up the votes.

The results of the referendum in the rayon or city are ascertained at the meeting of the rayon or city referendum commission and entered into the minutes. The minutes are compiled and signed in the same procedure as used for the minutes of the precinct referendum commission. The minutes are sent to the Republic Referendum Commission in the procedure prescribed by it.

#### **Article 32. Summing up the Results of the Referendum for the Republic**

Based on the minutes of rayon and city referendum commissions, the Republic Referendum Commission determines: the total number of citizens eligible to participate in the referendum; the number of citizens who received ballots; the number of citizens who cast votes; the number voting in favor of approval of the draft law or other decision submitted for referendum and the number voting against its approval; the number of ballots considered invalid.

A law of the Lithuanian SSR or other decision is considered passed by referendum if more than half of the votes cast by citizens during the course of the referendum were in favor of approval of the draft law or other decision.

A law of the Lithuanian SSR or other decision is not considered passed or rejected if less than half of the total number of citizens included on the lists participated in the referendum.

The Republic Referendum Commission can consider the results of the referendum invalid if violations of this law took place during the course of the referendum or when counting up the votes or determining the results of the referendum.

The results of the referendum are ascertained at a meeting of the Republic Referendum Commission and entered into the minutes. The minutes are signed by the chairman, deputy chairman, secretary, and members of the commission. It is immediately sent to the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

A report on the results of the referendum for the republic is published in the press by the Republic Referendum Commission within 3 days. The report indicates: the total number of republic citizens eligible to participate in the referendum; the number of citizens who cast votes; the number voting in favor of approval of the draft law or other decision submitted for referendum and the number voting against its approval; the number of ballots considered invalid.

In the event of considering the results of the referendum on the corresponding territory invalid, the Republic Referendum Commission can instruct the appropriate referendum commission to hold a runoff and determine the time periods of the voting. The runoff is organized and held observing the requirements of this law.

The decisions of the Republic Referendum Commission can be appealed to the Lithuanian SSR Constitutional Court within 1 month from the date they are made.

#### **Article 33. Promulgation and Entry into Force of an Lithuanian SSR Law or Other Decision Passed by Referendum**

An Lithuanian SSR law or other decision passed by referendum is promulgated in the procedure established for promulgation of Lithuanian SSR laws. The date of the referendum is considered the date of passage of an Lithuanian SSR law or other decision.

An Lithuanian SSR law or other decision passed by referendum enters into force the day after its promulgation, if a different date is not stipulated in it.

**Article 34. Changing an Lithuanian SSR Law or Other Decision Passed by Referendum**

Changing or repealing an Lithuanian SSR Law or other decision passed by referendum is done by referendum.

If necessary, urgent changes to an Lithuanian SSR law or other decision passed by referendum can also be made by decision of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, passed by at least a two-thirds majority of the total number of deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet. These changes must be submitted for referendum for approval within 3 months.

\* \* \*

The Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet submits the Lithuanian SSR Draft Law on Referendums for public discussion.

The draft law was been drafted on the basis of Article 5 of the current Lithuanian SSR Constitution (Basic Law), which stresses that the most important questions of state life are submitted for nationwide discussion and are also put to a nationwide vote (referendum). Accelerating the drafting of the Law on Referendums was prompted by the public's overall desire to immediately adopt this document at the session of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, which was expressed in the course of discussion of the Draft Constitution.

Since we have no practical experience in preparing for and holding a referendum, the draft was prepared using the example of countries which have such laws. The provisions of the Lithuanian SSR Law on National Discussion of Important Issues of State Life, dated 11 November 1987, were also taken into account. This document also is based on the main principles of suffrage, which are consolidated in the draft laws on elections submitted for nationwide discussion.

The Draft Law on Referendums consolidates guarantees for citizens to exercise opportunities of direct democracy and express their will on the most important issues of state and social life of the republic. Labor collectives, social organizations and social movements, and citizens are guaranteed the right of unimpeded agitation for a proposal to announce a referendum and passage of a law or other decision being submitted for referendum.

The Draft Law provides that referendums can be mandatory or optional. Mandatory referendums are announced for questions of exercising the right to self-determination of Lithuania; approving the newly adopted Republic Constitution, constitutional amendments, and laws concerning questions of the legal status of Lithuanian SSR citizens; and ratifying and denouncing important international treaties.

Optional referendums may be held on other issues, including on passing Lithuanian SSR laws.

The right of initiative to announce a referendum belongs to the deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet and the people. Members of the legislative body exercise this right at the proposal of at least one-third of the deputies of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet, and the initiative of the people is expressed in the form of proposals submitted by 300,000 Lithuanian SSR citizens having the right to vote.

The Draft Law on Referendums regulates how a referendum is announced and how the right of initiative to announce it is exercised. Citizens of Soviet Lithuania exercise this right through an initiative group made up of at least 10 people having the right to vote. The initiative group is registered in the rayon (city) Soviet of People's Deputies, which is reported to the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet.

The referendum uses voting lists compiled for the elections of deputies to the Lithuanian SSR soviets of people's deputies. The list includes all Lithuanian SSR citizens who have reached the age of 18 years on or before the day of the referendum, are permanent residents in the territory of a given voting precinct at the time the list is compiled, and are eligible to participate in the referendum.

Citizens included on the list, who will temporarily be outside the Lithuanian SSR, have the right to receive a voting ballot at the precinct referendum commission no earlier than 15 days before the referendum starts and to mark it at his own discretion. This ballot is placed in a sealed envelope of the prescribed form, left at the precinct referendum commission, and stored until the referendum. The ballot is dropped in the ballot box on voting day by the chairman of the referendum commission.

The Draft Law on Referendums submitted for public discussion regulates questions of preparing for the referendum, voting and ascertaining the results of the referendum, and the procedure for reviewing complaints.

The Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet invites citizens of the republic to participate actively in discussion of this published Draft Law on Referendums. Submit comments and proposals on the draft to the Presidium of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet (Vilnius, prospekt Lenina, 53).

### **KaSSR Campaign, Delegates to Congress of People's Deputies Critiqued**

18300709 Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 13 Jun 89 p 1

[Letter to editors from N. Berkaliyev, docent, Dzhambul Water Reclamation and Construction Institute: "Thinking About the Congress. Our Self-Awareness"] [Excerpts] **The work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies has ended, and any day now the people's elect, those who have already returned home, will go to meetings with the labor collectives. They have a mass of impressions and thoughts that they would like to share. Unquestionably, KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA will give the deputies an opportunity to speak in its pages.**

**However, the editorial mail during the Congress' work must also receive proper attention. It is complex. It forces us to interpret that which is happening in the Congress and in life from the most diverse aspects, to dispute not only the position of one deputy or another, but to return to evaluating one's own position again and again.**

#### **On Our Self-Awareness**

I am writing to the newspaper for the first time in my entire life. Believe me, this is not impromptu, but the fruit of my thoughts, obtained as a result of recently observing the work of the Congress, a picture grandiose in its significance and pageantry.

There is food for thought and an opportunity to make certain conclusions and comparisons. The more so, since television gave us a unique opportunity to do this for ourselves. Yet, the conclusions, in our opinion, are not particularly comforting for the residents of our region. In the first place, one experiences a feeling of jealous envy toward the deputies of the Moscow group and the Baltic region. It is immediately obvious that these are well-trained, erudite people, competent in their work, who know what they are saying and what they want and, mainly, who are expressing the opinion of their constituents. Their clear, well-argued speeches made an impression. This is not surprising. After all, they have gone through the crucible of pre-election campaigns in politically active regions and received the deputy mandates through a difficult struggle.

Although it is tardy, one questions: "What did our elections show?" Firstly, they showed, in our opinion, the political inertia and rudimentary civic self-awareness in the overwhelming segment of our population. Secondly, it showed that the people in power definitely fear the voters. How else can one explain the fact that many of our leaders "moved" to be placed on the ballot in the provinces, that the "most favorable regime" was created for them, and that virtually all of them had no alternative candidates? The absence even of the visibility of a pre-election struggle predetermined their automatic election. In practice, these are essentially the same old elections. The pre-election platforms, as is clearly

obvious now, suffered from the general nature of opinions, ambiguity and formalism. Indeed, in many cases they also did not genuinely reach the voters. Sad though it may be to realize, it is not the organizers who are guilty of all this, but us, the voters, our civic inertia and the absence of a feeling of self-awareness. In the final account, we all lost.

The speeches of the Muscovite and particularly of the Baltic deputies show that they had met actively, and had developed a general platform long before the Congress, and had created a package of proposals on all of the most important issues. Yet, were our deputies similar? It is hard to categorically deny, but one gets the impression that they were not.

Nonetheless, it is entirely natural that we all impatiently awaited the speeches of our fellow Kazakhstan countrymen. Of all the speeches, in my opinion, only N.A. Nazarbayev's speech justified the expectations. In it, our leader's understanding of the tasks and positions on the problems of regional cost-accounting were clearly tangible. His "strong republic-strong center" thesis requires no proof. The model speech by the respected O. Suleymenov made a dual impression. In his famous book, "*Az i Ya*" [Az and I], he claimed that a "collective where everyone says 'yes' is unable to function." How is this reconciled with his conciliatory appeals and attempts to smooth out the corners?

In my opinion, we should treat the speech by deputy G.A. Amangeldinova specially. This is a phenomenon which says a great deal and must not be underestimated.

We all saw that a definite polarization of political forces occurred at the Congress, which is entirely natural. The "division" of the deputies into radicals and moderates (left and right) was clearly noticeable. However, a group of deputies, who simply did not have positions of their own, who did not realize the significance of the Congress, and did not understand why they were there, was just distinct. These are the ones who are called the "swamp" in Western parliaments. Everyone should understand their role or, more precisely, harm, in the work of the Congress. They can reduce good proposals to naught.

The appearance of this group in the deputy corps is the direct cost of the election campaign that was held, our common fault. The most correct solution, of course, would be to immediately recall deputies who did not warrant our hopes.

In conclusion, a request. Take the voters' demands to our deputies (everyone, it seems, agrees on this): in the future, institute a special report sheet of nominal votes "for" or "against" for each one of them. In each forum, the deputies ought to remember that they are accountable to their constituents, whose self-awareness is growing thanks to the Congress's work and to glasnost.

Everyone with whom I spoke about this letter amicably persuaded me that it would not be printed for anything. God be with it, with the printing. I spoke out, and things have become easier. However, nonetheless, I would like to hope. Perhaps, this will help someone think and realize that the success of the Congress and of restructuring on the whole depends not so much on the deputies, as on us ourselves.

**Kazakhs Promised More Cultural Services in Tagtabazar**  
18350020a

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 2 March 1989 carries on page 2 a 1,500 word interview with Oguloraz Atayeva, secretary of the Tagtabazar Raykom, on interethnic relations, especially with regard to the rayon's large Kazakh minority; the interview is headlined "The Strength of Unanimity." The interviewer pointed out that "The Kazakh minority in Tagtabazar Rayon is especially large. I have talked with some of them and they said that there is no Kazakh literature in the stores and they can only buy Kazakh books when they travel to Kazakhstan" and asked: "Why is it so difficult to bring Kazakh books into the trade network?" Atayeva answered that "We are taking this question seriously, and have ordered the rayon consumers' society to take care of this question." The interviewer also inquired about the possibility of opening a Kazakh school at a sovkhoz in which 40 percent of the school-aged children are Kazakh. Atayeva answered that "We are in favor of it. It will probably be done."

**Ukrainian KGB Chief 'Welcomes' Government Oversight**

18120106 Moscow NEW TIMES in English  
No 27, 4-10 Jul 89 pp 26-28

[Interview with Lt Gen Nikolay Golushko, chairman of the Ukrainian KGB, People's Deputy of the USSR, by Marina Shakina: "The KGB Under Control"]

[Text] Soviet people have the right to demand that the State Security Committee (KGB) give the public an account of its activity, says Lt Gen Nikolai Golushko, chairman of the Ukrainian State Security Committee and a People's Deputy of the U.S.S.R.

[NEW TIMES] Many people still remember the speech delivered at the Congress of People's Deputies by Yuri Vlasov, who sharply criticized the KGB for its role in Soviet society. How do you treat his critical remarks?

[Nikolai Golushko] On the whole, I treat them calmly, if we leave out of consideration the sharpness and bias of his utterance. In general, I think a quiet tone, balance, competence and legal literacy should prevail in judgments expressed by members of parliament. Deputy Vlasov raised an important question which, incidentally,

concerns not only the KGB, but all central ministries and departments, because their role in the new political set-up has not been defined.

To my mind, the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. ought to have clearly defined the purposes, functions and main directions of the activity of central departments and perhaps their basic structures and establishments. New laws need to be adopted to regulate the activity of such bodies, the KGB included. Changes in the KGB depend on political changes in society, and its activity is determined by the state's foreign, domestic and defence policies, as well as by the course adopted to promote democracy and glasnost and strengthen legality.

We want to have an open, intelligible, clearly formulated law on state security. Incidentally, acts on the legal status of special services have been adopted in many countries. It would be expedient to update the rules for keeping state secrets and classified documents. At present, this does not come under the jurisdiction of the KGB alone. We advocate the primacy of law in all government and public affairs.

In my view, Yuri Vlasov's speech is not free of stereotype. For instance, his statement that the KGB is all-powerful and beyond any control and has penetrated into every sphere of public life is no longer true.

[NEW TIMES] You will not deny, however, that as long as the public has no information about the work of state security bodies, they remain impenetrable, so to speak. For the man in the street the KGB is a giant concern engaged in the fields of intelligence, counter-intelligence and security. Its structure is kept secret. It is not known, for instance, what functions are performed by one or other division.

[Nikolai Golushko] I am not sure the public is anxious to know which division of the KGB deals with intelligence, which with counter-intelligence, and which with investigation. The people must undoubtedly have an idea of the main directions of our activity, know its results and have a right to demand that the KGB give the public an account of its activity. As for its structure... I am not very interested, for instance, in what departments you have in your magazine. What matters to me is the tone of the magazine, the quality of its publications.

[NEW TIMES] Many people want to know what the KGB does inside the country. Catch spies? But there aren't many of them to catch.

[Nikolai Golushko] Let's begin with counter-intelligence activity, designed, as you know, to protect the state and the nation from subversive activity on the part of foreign special services and anti-Soviet organizations and centres.



In the last three years the KGB has curtailed the criminal activities of over 20 agents recruited from among Soviet citizens by intelligence bodies in NATO countries. Several dozen members of Western special services have been expelled from the Soviet Union. The damage caused by the stealing the state, military, economic and commercial secrets and priority information is tremendous. Foreign newspapers have reported, for instance, that the United States has saved billions of dollars thanks to spying.

[NEW TIMES] Aren't we obsessed with a mania for secrecy, nevertheless? Perhaps we have too many secrets?

[Nikolai Golushko] The keeping of secrets is the prerogative of the ministries and departments that possess them. So your question should be addressed to them, because they have the right to classify information. The KGB exercises control and renders assistance in the protection of secrets.

In my opinion, excessive secrecy is harmful to people and their work alike. A sort of reasonable sufficiency is needed here. In the past, there was a mania for secrecy, especially in scientific research. People sought to write their theses on "sensitive" subjects, often because it was simply easier to get a higher degree in this way. At the same time, a sensible approach should be taken towards secrets, for negligence can do grave harm to the nation's interests.

[NEW TIMES] What are the other tasks of the KGB inside the country?

[Nikolai Golushko] The KGB fights contraband and illegal currency operations. In April of this year, for instance, the KGB in Lvov region thwarted the illegal smuggling of a unique collection of old icons and other art treasures out of the country. Recently one more aspect of our work has appeared: cooperatives ask us to help them protect their commercial secrets from being leaked to rivals at home and abroad.

The prevention of terrorism and mass riots is also our duty. In the last few years the KGB has been enlisted in the fight against organized crime, corruption and ethnic strife.

In the Ukraine, where a great many ecologically and technologically complex industries are located, the KGB, jointly with law-enforcement bodies, seeks to avert serious accidents at factories and on transport. For instance, a group of our men has been selflessly working without a break at Chernobyl with the aim of ensuring the safe use of the atomic power plant and eliminating the consequences of the tragedy there.

It should be remembered that guarding the national frontier is also our duty. A new concept of national frontiers will call for a reorganization of our work.

[NEW TIMES] Over the past two years travel formalities on the western border have been simplified.

[Nikolai Golushko] People living in border areas of the Ukraine no longer need entry visas or foreign passports to visit neighbouring socialist countries. They can travel with their internal passports alone. Several dozen checkpoints have been opened in the republic for this purpose.

There are also other innovations. Jews who left the Ukraine in past years lost their citizenship and had no possibility of visiting the Soviet Union. Under new rules they can freely come to see their relatives and acquaintances.

[NEW TIMES] What do you think of the establishment of a Supreme Soviet committee to supervise the KGB's activity?

[Nikolai Golushko] I welcome the establishment of a body that will coordinate and supervise the work of ensuring the security of our country.

[NEW TIMES] What are the feelings of members of the KGB staff now that the crimes of Stalinism have been exposed and the role of the NKVD - the KGB's predecessor - has been highlighted?

[Nikolai Golushko] I began to work in the state security bodies during the "thaw." The present generation of Cheka men has been raised in the spirit of Lenin's and Dzerzhinsky's behests. It can be asserted with certainty that they have nothing in common with the repressive organization that committed injustices during the years of the personality cult. We have rejected the methods used by the NKVD inquisitors. It should also be remembered that thousands of honest NKVD men paid with their lives for refusing to take part in the repressions.

Besides, we went through the 15-year period of work under Yuri Andropov, when a humanist, thoughtful and politically tested approach to the KGB's activity began to develop and strict compliance with the law was inculcated. Our men were told that their principal task was to save every man who had made a mistake, come under hostile influence and got into trouble. The failure to avert an act of treason, and the trial of a man charged with treason were regarded as bad work.

I would describe the sentiments of chekists in this way: first, they condemn the repressions and are determined to prevent them in the future and, second, they are shortly going to study the archive material with the aim of fully exonerating the innocent people.

It should be said, however, that unfounded attacks against the KGB bodies are painful for their honest and selfless personnel.

[NEW TIMES] Don't you think that many people go to work in the KGB for self-seeking reasons?

[Nikolai Golushko] I don't think so in principle. Mistakes in the selection of personnel are possible, of course, as happens in other places. The present atmosphere of more exacting standards allows us to get rid of careerists and callous and immoral individuals.

In the past, the KGB was possibly considered a "privileged" body where one could have a high salary, a good flat and go abroad. At present, the advantages and privileges are negligible, within the limits set for servicemen throughout the country. Chekists have to work overtime, and this usually requires great exertion. They are often moved from one place to work to another. In the Ukraine, about 600 families of KGB men do not have permanent accommodation.

[NEW TIMES] Today one often reads in the press: "I was summoned by the KGB and warned that..." Why are citizens summoned by the KGB? How can one lodge a complaint against the KGB? By appealing to the prosecutor's office or by taking the matter to court?

[Nikolai Golushko] The answers to these questions are contained in the code of legal procedure of the Ukraine, as well as in the codes of other constituent republics. We summon people involved in the crimes being investigated by the KGB. The other reasons for inviting citizens to the KGB office are also stated in law.

In accordance with a decree issued by the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet Presidium on December 25, 1972, KGB bodies can invite citizens and serve them with an official warning as a preventive measure in cases where they have committed actions that could harm the nation's security.

Those who consider the summons unlawful and an infringement on their rights and interest can lodge a complaint with the prosecutor's office and with the heads of the given or higher body of the KGB.

[NEW TIMES] Far from all our readers know to what body the KGB is subordinate.

[Nikolai Golushko] The chairman of the KGB of the U.S.S.R. is a member of the government. It is now safe to say that the KGB will be accountable to the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

In general, the activity of state security bodies has been under constant and, in recent years, strict control on the part of the CPSU Political Bureau, local party bodies and the prosecutor's and financial supervision.

There is also public control - numerous letters and appeals from citizens, which are carefully analyzed. Criticism of the Ukrainian KGB in the press is similarly form of control.

[NEW TIMES] Hasn't the role of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) been reappraised in the past few years?

[Nikolai Golushko] There is a general tendency in the country towards restoring the historical truth, reviewing the past and filling in blanks in its history. Today, some people would like to make heroes of the OUN leaders and declare OUN members fighters against Stalin's policy, not armed bandits who terrorized the population in the postwar years. I don't think so. Documents say that the OUN bandits killed more than 30,000 people in the Ukraine. Among them were about 3,000 party officials, 582 chairmen of village Soviets, 267 collective farm chairmen and around 2,000 teachers and doctors.

Preparations are being made to publish archive documents relating to 1944-45, including the appeals by the Supreme Soviet, the Council of people's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of the Ukraine, signed by Nikita Khrushchev and other republican leaders, to the underground leadership, calling on them to stop the bloodshed, dissolve the bands and return to peaceful work... All who did not soil their hands with innocent blood were guaranteed pardon.

[NEW TIMES] Perhaps they didn't believe these pledges? The reality at that time often contradicted words. They could well have gone to Siberia...

[Nikolai Golushko] Perhaps. Participants in the OUN underground were people whose lives were different; among them, undoubtedly, were not only sworn nationalists who wouldn't stop short of any terrible crimes, but also those who had been deceived, intimidated and enlisted in the bands by force.

Thousands of bandits who surrendered voluntarily were pardoned in those harsh years. But it is also true that the Stalinist crimes didn't bypass the Ukraine either: deportations and the arrest of relatives of bandits. Our department is doing quite a lot of archive work towards the rehabilitation of those innocently repressed.

[NEW TIMES] Could you briefly describe the programme, the "KGB and glasnost"?

[Nikolai Golushko] Glasnost, openness in our work, is not solely a modern innovation. In the context of democratization and the removal of the deformities of the stagnation period, we are restoring and developing the traditions of Vladimir Lenin and Felix Dzerzhinsky - cooperation with the people, the protection of legal rights and interests of citizens.

We in the Ukraine employ such forms of glasnost as KGB executives granting interviews and participating in TV and radio broadcasts, meetings with work collectives and young people, shooting documentary TV and cinema films, the publication of books based on archive



materials, press conferences, briefings and round-table discussions. We have business contacts with creative unions and with writers and journalists. We have started the practice of our junior colleagues reporting to the work collectives that recommended them for service in State Security.

The essence of the glasnost programme is to have more support from the public, create an atmosphere of intolerance to violations of the law and neutralize actions by foreign subversive centres, possible anti-social manifestations and unrest in time.

[NEW TIMES] Did the KGB warn the country's political leadership of the possibility of ethnic conflicts in Karabakh, Sumgait, Fergana, or the course the developments in Tbilisi could have taken?

[Nikolai Golushko] I am sure my colleagues in the fraternal republics did their duty.

I can say of the Ukraine: together with party bodies, local Soviets and law-enforcement agencies we are doing our best to be aware of extremist, anti-Soviet tendencies and trends, to keep under control situations that are likely to lead to conflicts or might imperil the people's interests and rule out the probability of disrupting the brotherhood of all peoples living in our multinational republic.

[NEW TIMES] You came to head the Ukrainian KGB in 1987, and your appointment coincided with the conclusion of the Malyshev case - the head of the Odessa department for the prevention of thefts of public property who was harassed by some officials of the regional KGB branch...

[Nikolai Golushko] A month after I came to the republic (long before the article in the LITERATURNAYA GAZETA) I issued an order critical of the violations of legal norms and regulations committed by officials of the regional KGB branch while assisting the local procurator's office in the investigation of this case. The officials responsible were sacked from State Security, or punished.

[NEW TIMES] Could you say a few words about yourself: where were you born and where have you worked?

[Nikolai Golushko] I was born in 1937 in Kazakhstan into a Ukrainian family of peasants who left the Ukraine during the Stolypin reform... In 1959 I graduated from the department of law at Tomsk University and worked at a procurator's office. In 1963, when I was working in the Kuznetsky Basin Region, I was recommended for work with State Security. I started to work there as a rank-and-file operator, and I am now a member of the KGB collegium. Throughout my career I have served in all capacities. In the last 14 years prior to my appointment to the Ukraine I was with the KGB apparatus in Moscow. My wife is a lawyer. My son is a graduate of the Moscow Institute of Engineering Physics.

[NEW TIMES] Do you speak Ukrainian?

[Nikolai Golushko] I read Ukrainian and can speak it. The point is, you see, that though a Ukrainian by birth, I was brought up in Kazakhstan. I went to a Russian school, studied Kazakh, German, English and even Latin, but I never studied Ukrainian specially. At present I'm trying to catch up.

In general, I recognize the great importance of any language and national culture. I favour ethnic Russian bilingualism. I believe that one must study the language, history and culture of the republic one lives in. The leadership of our department encourages our colleagues to learn the local language of the republics they serve in. But if someone isn't fluent in Russian - the language of inter-ethnic communication - then it is really bad for our work and for all of us.

[NEW TIMES] In what language does the Ukrainian KGB draw up business documents?

[Nikolai Golushko] Mostly Russian, though there are quite a number of regulations and business papers that are drawn up in Ukrainian as well. In everyday work our workers use both Russian and Ukrainian.

By the way, we employ people of 28 nationalities, including Russians, Poles, Hungarians, Slovaks, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Moldavians, Armenians, Kazakhs, Jews, Chuvashes... The proportion of ethnic Ukrainians roughly corresponds to the ethnic composition of the republic (73 per cent of the population and 62 per cent of the workers with the Ukrainian apparatus).

[NEW TIMES] What is your attitude to the April 8th Decree, which was extensively discussed at the Congress of People's Deputies?

[Nikolai Golushko] Unlike the old law (on anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda), the new Decree has clear-cut definitions of criminal offences - only appeals made in public are classified as such. It is the first time that anti-state crimes have not entailed imprisonment. The criticism of Article 11 (1) was justified and the article itself was thrown out at the Congress.

On the whole, I believe that the Decree is in accord with the course towards democratization and humanization of our society. During the past three years not a single person in the Ukraine has been punished for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda as specified in the earlier law, and correspondingly, the new decree hasn't been used either.

I believe, however, that we still have some problems in our legislating activities, and our mechanism for adopting new laws is far from faultless.

Parliamentary work needs to be focused on legislation - first and foremost we must radically improve the procedure for the elaboration, discussion and adoption of laws, to specify who can initiate bills and elaborate them, including alternative ones, when these bills should be published in the press, how long we should discuss them for, how we should work with suggestions, amendments and criticism from the people, and when a referendum is necessary.

After a law comes into force it must be observed by all. Social development is hardly possible without legal stability. There is much work ahead of us in elaborating guarantees of the rights of the individual, promoting constitutional and basic human rights, enforcing law and order. We must do this work to make the law-governed state a reality.

**Turkmen KGB Chief Interviewed on Glasnost**  
*18350021a Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY*  
*in Turkmen 21 Mar 89 p 3*

[Interview with P. M. Arkhipov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR KGB and candidate for people's deputy, by Pirjan Alyyev, SOVET TURKMENISTANY interview department chief: "The People Value Glasnost"]

[Text] [Alyyev] Pyotr Mikhaylovich, when you declared yourself a candidate for deputy it became possible to interview you. Otherwise, if I am not mistaken, nothing is being written about the KGB, its workers or their jobs. When something is written, generally "representatives of competent organs" or "relevant organs" are cited. Thus, people talk about your organization in whispers. How do you view this in a period of glasnost?

[Arkhipov] In fact, it is possible that that's the way we appear from outside. But we do not view ourselves that way. According to what you say, our organization is perceived as a secret administration whose doors are closed to outsiders. But that is not the case. The State Security Committee is an organ of the people. It is built on representatives of the people who are in the people's service and who defend the interests of the country and the state. The fact that forces of the Committee for State Security defend the country's borders and guarantee their integrity is known to all. You mention our "invisible" job. If this is the case, let me bring up an analogy: every family has secrets which are concealed from others. The state, too, has secrets it keeps to itself, and preserving these secrets has been assigned to us. This is in the interests of the state and people. We take on ourselves control over keeping these secrets. Taking direction from glasnost, we are considering turning over a group of these secrets to the collectives themselves. If state secrets are very important, we will keep them among ourselves.

As you know, we said formerly that we had no corruption and committed no crimes among ourselves. Now there is no reason to keep it secret: there is corruption and crime, and not few cases. We are helping the law enforcement organs in exposing these events. This is also one of our "invisible" jobs.

We are conducting all of our visible and "invisible" work to strengthen and help the people. We believe in the people and the people believe in us. As you know, the collective of the Gazanjyk central rayon hospital and officials of the border troops supported my candidacy for USSR peoples deputy from the Nebitdag-744th territorial electoral district initially. Subsequently, worker collectives from the Gazanjyk kolkhoz in Gazanjyk Rayon, the Nebitdag hosiery factory, the Cheleken iodine plant and others also supported me. I think that the trust of the people expresses trust in our organ. That means, the people know us. And here I would stress something else. It is possible that there is a tendency among the people to think about the state security organs and its workers in a special way.

It is true that little is written about KGB workers and their jobs in the republic's mass media. There is much worth writing about with respect to our workers' jobs and their valor. I remember that the central press wrote about the bravery of Colonel (KGB) Ye. G. Sheremetev. He gave himself to the bandits as a hostage in order to save school children and their teacher at the Mineralnyye Vody city airport and did his job as their guns were aimed at him.

[Alyyev] Pyotr Mikhaylovich, if I might interrupt you. We should also mention that your workers took part in exposing the "cotton affair" and the work of I. Sarkiyev's criminal gang. It would not be a bad thing if we acquainted the people with your workers who stood out in this case.

[Arkhipov] I agree. Now newspapers are writing about the bravery the bravery of militia workers. But if there is news about the the bravery of our workers it generally remains among us. In the future we will take note of this.

[Alyyev] Recently an idea has been put forth in the central press about limiting the territories, rayons or other border areas for which a special pass is required in order to travel. There are a number of such territories and rayons in our republic. What do you have to say about this?

[Arkhipov] I meet often with the population in border rayons. They mention this question very often. I think it is correct to raise the question. There are not few situations when there is a wedding, a funeral or other types of occasions. At the same time a special pass is needed to travel to border rayons. This procedure creates many barriers for the population. If I am elected deputy,

I will raise the question of limiting the so-called border zones, removing this status from some rayons and of retaining this requirement only for zones directly on the border.

[Alyyev] Now I want to go on to the basic theme of our talk, which is in connection with your candidacy for USSR peoples deputy. Pyotr Mikhaylovich, you are chairman of the republic KGB and hold the rank of Major General. You are a man who has overcome many difficulties in life. What did you feel when you heard of your candidacy for USSR peoples deputy?

[Arkhipov] In general, I was very excited. B. Seyidova and I were proposed from the Nebitdag-744th electoral district. The electoral district contains the entire territory of the former Krasnovodsk Oblast—five cities and two rayons. A vast territory. The oil and gas industry and agriculture. In each of these areas there are unresolved problems. I am not afraid of the difficulties in solving these questions. I was thrilled with the great responsibility which came to me through the faith of the workers' collectives in me. I was also thrilled by the great faith expressed by the people in the state security organs.

[Alyyev] I took part in meetings between some candidates for deputy and the voters. I heard some candidates promise the voters that they would "move mountains." How do you view such promises?

[Arkhipov] To make a promise and not keep it is shameful. At meetings with voters when some questions are raised I say right out that even if I am elected or if I am chairman that I cannot solve this question. I only promise what I can deliver. The people respect glasnost.

[Alyyev] Pyotr Mikhaylovich, what is your basic platform as a candidate for peoples deputy?

[Arkhipov] I am very often in the republic's western region. Thus, I built my platform in accordance with the socioeconomic problems of this region. If I were to describe my platform's basic directions, it would consist of these: a program for the social-economic development of Turkmenistan's western region is now being formulated. I expect to add to this program questions on improving assurances on providing the population with natural gas and medical, social and transportation services, and creating new jobs. The ecological issue has a high priority in the program because there are factories putting harmful waste products into the atmosphere in this territory. I will fight constantly for the rapid implementation of the party's goal of creating a state of socialist law. If elected deputy I will take all measures to activate the struggle against corruption, parasitism, speculation, making profits without working and other crimes which have proliferated. We must implement precise measures in order to assure that representatives

of different nationalities respect each other and to strengthen interethnic relations by means of strengthening friendship between peoples and true internationalism.

[Alyyev] According to what you have said, you have met often with the voters. At these the voters have raised issues other than those stated in your program. It is possible that some of these could be resolved before the elections. What do you have to say about this?

[Arkhipov] We have had many meetings with voters. In addition, both B. Seyidova and I have each had an hour's time on Krasnovodsk television. Both in our meetings and in our speeches on television the voters have raised many questions. As you said, some of these will have been resolved. I am acting on some of them now. For example, in our meeting in Nebitdag workers at the hosiery factory said that they lost a lot of work time because cotton fabric supplies did not come on schedule. I studied the reasons behind this situation. We found that the raw materials were acquired from the Ukraine. By turning to the relevant organizations, I was able to arrange shipment of a hundred tons of cotton fabric to the factory. At another of the meetings they said that the one bus between Bekdash and Krasnovodsk was inadequate. I talked with the organizations which have to resolve this issue. Now there are two buses on the route.

[Alyyev] Pyotr Mikhaylovich, now could you briefly acquaint our readers with your background?

[Arkhipov] Is that necessary?

[Alyyev] It is because you are a candidate for deputy.

[Arkhipov] In brief: I was born to a peasant family in the village of Abaltsy in Rokishsk Rayon of the Lithuanian SSR in 1934. After I graduated from the KGB school in 1955 I began working operationally in the Lithuanian SSR KGB. Subsequently I graduated from two higher schools. I worked in the LiSSR KGB for some years. Later they sent me to the United States of America as a diplomat. I worked for three years in the Secretariat of the United Nations. In 1980 they assigned me to the central apparatus of the USSR KGB in Moscow. In 1985 I was appointed chairman of the KGB in the Chechen-Ingush ASSR for two years. In June 1988 I was appointed chairman of the Turkmenistan SSR KGB.

[Alyyev] Pyotr Mikhaylovich, I would not have thought our conversation would be conducted in such a spirit. Such accessibility and openness from a chairman of the KGB has created a positive impression for me also towards other workers in this service. Finally, you have made me believe in your candidacy for deputy.

[Arkhipov] Thank you.

**Foreign Muslim Propaganda 'Not Without Danger'**

18350020b

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 4 March 1989 carries on page 3 a 1,500 word article by A. Baygeldiyev headlined "Voices From Abroad" on the impact of foreign Muslim propaganda on Turkmenistan. "Taken as a whole, 38 radio stations which discuss Islam and the exporting of the Islamic revolution are active along the Soviet-Iranian border." He adds that "basic directions of bourgeois Muslim propaganda directed at the Turkmen population, especially the youth, are aimed primarily at completely falsifying the USSR's nationality policy: more precisely, at promoting the theses that the Turkmen national culture and language have been 'destroyed' and that the Turkmen people are being 'Russified'. He points out that "another aim of bourgeois propaganda directed at youth is to awaken interest in Islam and other antiquated traditions. With this objective, anti-Communist propaganda intentionally mixes the national feeling of the Turkmen people with religious remnants." Iranian television also plays a role in this campaign: "This source of uncontrolled information has significantly complicated the informational-ideological situation in the republic. Regular listening to Iranian radio and television leads to listeners' overestimating the value of the Muslim way of life which is incessantly preached by the Islamic Republic. The bourgeois and clerical programs broadcast from abroad are not without danger for the youth." Iran has also mounted a letter campaign: "Bourgeois propaganda also penetrates our country by means of letters from abroad, primarily letters written from Iran. Recently, the number of letters coming from

'relatives' of Turkmens living in Asenguly and other rayons has increased. These letters, which propagandize the Muslim way of life, claim to be trying to revive family relations."

**Turkmen Journalist Criticizes Rayon Newspaper Content**

18350020c

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 14 March 1989 carries on page 1 a 3,100 word article by K. Ylyasov, editor of SOVET TURKMENISTANY and deputy chairman of the TuSSR Journalists Union, headlined "We Must March Together With Life" in which he strongly criticizes the rayon press and urges that SOVET TURKMENISTANY itself add to its current content by adding more pages per week. He says that "I have looked at most issues of last year's rayon newspapers and did not come across any valuable material on the active participation of party and soviet organs in the present process [perestroyka]" and adds "most rayon newspapers are even damaging our republic economically" because "a good half of the newspapers' pages are used inappropriately." He makes a number of recommendations for improving the content and printing of the rayon press. With regard to both expanding the content of SOVET TURKMENISTANY and improving its responsiveness to readers, he notes that letters from readers have "increased constantly" while "the size of the newspaper has remained the same." In order to overcome this problem the editors have asked "relevant organs" for permission to add an extra page to each issue or publish on Sunday. He adds that "we hope this question will be resolved positively."



### Stalinist Purge of Western Ukrainian Komsomol Described

18110052 Kiev MOLOD UKRAINY in Ukrainian  
12 Jan 89 p 2

[Article by Mykola Lytvyn, candidate of historical sciences, scientific associate, UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Social Sciences, and Vasyl Tymoshenko, principal, Malin Secondary School No. 3, Zhitomir Oblast: "Conscience Speaks: About the Life of Ivan Vantukh, Founder of Western Ukraine Komsomol"]

[Text] There is nothing in the contemporary literature not only about the secretaries of district or county committees of the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine and Western Ukrainian Komsomol, but even about the secretaries and members of the Western Ukrainian party and Komsomol central committees. The lives of these revolutionaries as a rule ended tragically—somewhere in the Stalinist labor camps in Siberia or on construction of the White Sea-Baltic Canal, for we know that in 1938 the CPWU [the Communist Party of the Western Ukraine] and Western Ukrainian Komsomol were unwarrantedly disbanded by decision of the Comintern Executive Committee, but in actual fact by orders from Stalin.

As was the practice in those days, the children of the poor sat in the last row, the "donkey" row. One of these children was a quiet boy of modest stature.

"Ivan, help me with this German exercise," he would frequently be asked by one of his neighbors.

"Peasant professors," a lawyer's son mockingly dubbed the pupils in the last row.

But the boys paid no attention to him. They had long ago become accustomed to worse than this. When Ivan Vantukh first came from his village of Dernovo to the Kamenka-Strumilovskaya Secondary School, they refused to enroll him. His father barely succeeded in persuading them otherwise. Ivanko recalled with pain his first days at this school. Nor were things any easier now, but at least he had some close friends—Mykhaylo Teslyuk and Fedko Trach. The three of them had also formed a socialist cell (Such International Revolutionary Social Democratic organizations—youth branches of leftist elements of the Galician Social Democratic Party—were operating in 1915-1916 in Lvov, Drohobych, Stryi, Stanislav (present-day Ivano-Frankivsk), Ternopol, Sambor, Vyzhnytsa, and other towns in the region).

The boys would gather in the evenings. They would work clandestinely on making copies of the Communist Party Manifesto of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels as well as the writings of Lenin. They would pass Bolshevik newspapers from hand to hand, and they would eagerly seek news of what was happening with the Russian proletariat.

In the middle of the summer of 1920 joyous news was carried through the streets of Kamenka-Strumilovskaya and Dernovo: "The Reds are coming! Cavalry! Go out to greet them!"

The gentry hastily fled, but the young revolutionaries, including Ivan Vantukh, genuinely welcomed the Red Cossacks under the command of Oleksandr Parkhomenko.

"Not a czarist army but the Red Army is marching into Galicia, an army which has overthrown the oppressive czarist regime at the cost of struggle and blood. The Red Army is bringing to the Galician people freedom in place of coercion and oppression; it is bringing socialist liberation from capitalist oppression at the hands of the Polish nobility. It is bringing freedom, self-determination, and national independence in place of ethnic oppression. It is bringing not that independence with which Petlyura duped the public, who built that independence at the point of foreign bayonets and who ultimately sold the Galician people to Poland, handing them over to the Polish nobility. The Red Army has always fought against such commerce in popular welfare. The Red Army is fighting to give the opportunity to the people themselves to forge out their own happiness without the aid of foreign bayonets, creating a Soviet system and a Soviet Socialist Republic," read a divisional leaflet entitled "Why Is the Red Army Marching Into Galicia?"

But freedom remained less than two months in these lands. A several-days assault of the fortifications of Lvov by the 1st Cavalry Army, which had been weakened by extended fighting, an assault carried out at the personal instructions of I. V. Stalin, member of the Revolutionary Military Council of the Southwestern Front, served further to weaken Budennyi's forces. Entente forces, which included 6 armored trains, 50 airplanes, and a large number of American tanks and French long-range guns, killed several hundred Red Army troopers and a great many horses during those sultry August days. It was the failure of Stalin's plan to launch the main attack on Lvov which resulted in collapse of the Galician Socialist Soviet Republic. Forces of bourgeois-landowner Poland reoccupied Eastern Galicia in the latter half of September.

Several months later police agents reported to their superiors: "A Communist organization is operating in Kamenka-Strumilovskaya, led by M. Teslyuk and I. Vantukh."

A traitor had turned in these members of the Communist underground, but this first time they did not remain long in custody.

When Ivan Vantukh was released, the party assigned him the task of uniting revolutionary young people into a unified Communist Union of Youth.

Several months passed. On 23 October 1921 several dozen cheerful, boisterous youths, who appeared to have nothing but amusement on their minds, gathered in a modest two-story building across from the railroad station in Stanislav. These merry-makers were merely acting the part: they were delegates to the First Eastern Galicia Komsomol Conference, coming from Lvov, Ternopol, Peremyshl, Drohobych, Stryi, and Rogatin.

"Comrades!" Ivan addressed them. His eyes sparkled with joy. "The Russian Communist Union of Youth was formed in Moscow three years ago. You have heard a great deal about the heroic accomplishments of our brothers in combat and in labor. Today we young Galician revolutionaries, following in the footsteps of the Communists, are uniting in a unified union of youth! All those in favor raise your hands!"

Twenty-year-old Ivan Vantukh became the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Union of Youth of Eastern Galicia (of the Western Ukraine from 1923 on).

Several days later, on Sunday, 30 October 1921, at 11:30 a.m., the First Congress of the Communist Party of Eastern Galicia convened in Lvov, in a room at the B. Grinchenko private school on the grounds of the Cathedral of St. George (the present-day address is No 5 Bogdan Khmelnytskyi Square). The time and place of the congress were chosen due to the conspiratorial nature of the event, in order to make it easier for the delegates to attend the congress, mixing in with the crowd of religious believers coming to worship. Ivan Vantukh was one of the delegates. The congress lasted almost an hour. The police, learning the time and place of the congress from provocateurs, arrested 26 delegates—Ukrainian and Polish Communists, including Ivan Vantukh.

The occupation authorities held a disgraceful trial, which ran to 11 January 1923. But the Communists courageously defended themselves.

"I resolved to dedicate myself to organizing youth so that young workers and students would develop into fighters for the proletarian cause," stated Komsomol leader Ivan Vantukh at the trial.

A letter to his family contains courageous words: "Only genuine worker-peasant rule can produce healthy relations and usher in a new era in the history of mankind, an era of rapid development of the culture of all nations, all people, not like up to the present time, of only a handful of nobles living on the body of the worker masses."

A week before announcement of the verdict and sentencing of the Communists, joyous news reached Bryhidka Prison by clandestine means: in Moscow the 1st Congress of Soviets had proclaimed establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The entire prison resounded with the words of the "Internationale." The prisoners shouted with emotion: "Long live the USSR! Long live Lenin!"

Ivan first saw blue sky again in March 1924. He returned to underground activities.... Agitation and propaganda activity among the students at Lvov University, and trips to visit striking agricultural laborers, to the Carpathians and Volynia.... He sincerely welcomed the news that in the summer of 1925 the Ukrainian Red Cross sent 22 carloads of grain to starving peasants in the Western Ukraine. During this time the workers of Volynia sent an open letter of thanks to the people of the Soviet Ukraine, stating: "Your assistance to the people starving the Western Ukraine, those couple of dozen carloads of grain, the fact that you sent them to us not because you had more than you could use but from your own meager supply, this help gives us strength and urges us on to an even more persistent struggle against our oppressors, the Polish nobility.... In accepting your gift we pledge that we shall continue the struggle for liberation from the Polish-szlachta yoke with redoubled effort." Obviously a feeling of fraternal solidarity and support helped Vantukh and his comrades overcome the difficulties of life in the underground and increasingly more confidently to fight for liberation and reunification.

It was 1926. The "socialist" Jozef Pilsudski and his gang were taking savagely repressive measures against any and all manifestations of revolutionary activity and against those who were leading the liberation movement—Communists and Komsomol members. The press could not keep up with all the new repressive trials of "criminals against the state." In 1926-1927 there were the "trial of the 31" in Kovel, the "trial of the 151" in Vladimir-Volynskiy, the "trial of the 53," the "trial of the 22," and the "the trial of the 57" in Lutsk.

...First they arrested his wife Halyna, and then Vantukh himself. The CPWU CC magazine *NASHA PRAUDA* [Our Truth] reported in February 1928: "A political trial of 57 Communists began in Lutsk on 27 November 1927. The defendants had already been held up to 19 months in a pretrial detention facility. Almost all the accused, who were savagely beaten, had been enmeshed by a provocateur.... The court convicted 50 of these comrades, sentencing Petro Marchuk, Mykhaylo Yavorskyy, and Ivan Vantukh to 8 years at hard labor."

He was tortured two or three times a day. Some would not have been able to hold up, but Ivan Vantukh managed. We read in a letter he wrote home in January 1930, written with a stub of a pencil: "I had two choices: I could go the easy way of a career, without expending my soul, stifling my soul, stifling in myself the drive to struggle for a better future for entire generations, or, regardless of the difficult obstacles, I could proceed



ahead following my own road, although without knowing how thorny it would be. I unhesitatingly chose the second path. Every adult must proceed as his reason and conscience dictate...."

There was also plenty of time in the prison cell to analyze the complex situation which had developed in the CPWU at the end of the 1920's. It was precisely at that time that L. M. Kaganovich arrived in the Ukraine on the instructions of I. V. Stalin. By virtue of his actions and coercive methods, Kaganovich aroused righteous indignation on the part of republic party and government officials: V. P. Zatonsky, V. Ya. Chubar, O. Ya. Shumsky, and others. In connection with this, People's Commissar of Education Shumsky communicated to Stalin that the general secretary should be replaced at the earliest possible time. At this point Kaganovich directed principal efforts against Shumsky, with the aim not only of personally compromising him but also of discrediting the very policy of Ukrainianization which was advocated by the people's commissar of education, O. Ya. Shumsky, a former Borotbist [Borotbists—a Ukrainian nationalist party], was declared to be a national-Bolshevik, virtually a nationalist, and was dismissed as people's commissar of education. The February-March and April 1927 CPWU CC plenums rejected the trumped-up charges of national-Bolshevism against O. Ya. Shumsky.

In 1932 the International Organization to Assist Revolutionaries wrested 40 Western Ukrainian revolutionaries from the clutches of their Polish jailers. These revolutionaries included Vantukh.

The leaders of the Western Ukraine Union of Revolutionary Writers met the recent political prisoners. At a formal meeting on 20 September 1932 they named Ivan Vantukh and Nestor Khomyn honorary members of the Union. Soon thereafter Vantukh was given a position in the information department of the CPWU Foreign Assistance Office and elected to the Presidium of the Central Committee Ukrainian SSR MODR [expansion unknown].

The terrible famine of the spring of 1933 had begun. In July of that same year activities by the Western Ukraine Union of Revolutionary Writers were banned and the organization dissolved.

Vantukh also followed with concern events in the Western Ukraine. In 1933 a new crisis gripped the CPWU: party leaders Myron Zayachivsky (Kosar) and Hryhoriy Ivanenko (Baraba) were groundlessly accused of nationalism and treason and declared to be covert agents of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

They, as well as hundreds of other CPWU and Western Ukrainian Komsomol officials, although completely innocent, were subjected to repression.

Soon thereafter Vantukh was tortured to death on the basis of phony, provocation accusations.... Unfortunately the archives of the Military Collegium of the USSR Supreme Court contain no information on the arrest, detention, date and place of death of the leader of the Western Ukrainian Komsomol.

As we know, during the 20th CPSU Congress a joint declaration by the Communist parties of the Soviet Union, Italy, Poland, Bulgaria, and Finland was made public, stating that the Comintern had erred in its decision pertaining to the Polish Communist Party as well as the CPWU and Western Ukrainian Komsomol. Eminent Western Ukrainian party and Komsomol figures and revolutionary-liberation movement activists, who although entirely innocent had been subject to repression, were fully rehabilitated in 1956-1959. Since that time a number of scholarly studies have been written on this dramatic chronicle of struggle for Reunification. This heroic struggle and the history of the CPWU and Western Ukrainian Komsomol have not yet, however, taken their rightful place in the historical memory of the Ukrainian people. Very few pieces of fiction have been written, and there is not one single film dealing with the revolutionary-liberation movement of the Western Ukrainian proletariat. And yet all this without question has earned the right for a place in the grateful memory of succeeding generations, for we are dealing here with 20 years in the history of one fourth of the Ukrainian people.

#### **Minorities Study Turkmen SSR History** *183500201*

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 31 March 1989 carries on page 2 an 800 word article by B. Geldiyev headlined "Pride in the Fatherland and Native Soil" on the addition of a new theme to secondary school Turkmen history programs, "The Resolution of the Nationality Problem in Turkmenistan." He points out that the history of the Turkmen SSR is not only taught in Turkmen schools, but also in Russian, Kazakh and Uzbek schools. The value of the course is that "among Turkmen children pride in one's Fatherland, people and native soil as well as patriotic feelings are being perfected by studying the history of the Turkmen SSR. Russian, Uzbek and Kazakh children learn the spirit of internationalism and friendship of peoples by studying Turkmenistan's history."

### **Pentecostals Invited To Speak in City's Culture Club**

18001413a *Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA*  
in Russian 15 Jun 89 p 3

[Article by N. Bondarenko: "Religion and the Modern Age: The Auditorium Was Full"]

[Text] Tokmak—The most ruthless warrior is time, an eastern saying goes.

If someone had told me five years ago—no, not even five, just three or even two years ago—that someday there would be believers among my circle of acquaintances I would have thought the very notion ridiculous. Yet this year it has happened: the city discussion club established at the initiative of the Tokmak Party Gorkom has held a meeting with a group of Evangelical Christians (Pentecostals) at the House of Culture.

Here is the range of topics which were discussed with interest and fervor by both sides over tea and cookies: "When does human life begin?" "Why is the purpose of life?" "What are your perceptions of happiness, honor and mercy?" "What are duty and conscience?" "What should relations between atheists and believers be like?" and more.

One month later the same believers were back at the House of Culture giving a charity concert—reading poetry and singing songs—to aid the victims of the Armenian earthquake and the V. I. Lenin Children's Fund. The announcement in LENINSKIY PUT, the local newspaper, and the posters hung up at the entrance to the House of Culture were effective: the auditorium was full.

I remember the timid, uncomprehending questions that my comrades came up and asked me following the discussion: "What were you whispering with them about?" Yes, time flies, and there is no stopping it; this too is testimony to our restructuring, by which our whole society now lives, both atheists and believers.

Well, what was I whispering about with Vladimir Mandych, the choir director the congregation of Evangelical Christians, and the others sitting with me? About life, naturally. There are no new topics in this world.

Recently I came across a letter from a certain believer (I arrived at that conclusion because the letter contained not only quotes from the Bible, but also detailed interpretation of the lives of the saints). The letter writer was appealing to his brethren and sisters to... come together, complaining that many things had appeared among them which were contrary to the will of God. "The risen Christ said: 'Peace be unto you! My peace I will give you.' Despite this many believers do not want to make peace with one another, with society, with their neighbor. Does this not tell us that those people do not have peace in their hearts...? We should ask one another as we walk

along: 'If we cannot extend a hand in greeting to our neighbors, then what sort of road are we traveling?' Is it not time for us to stop and ask whether it is the right road?"

When we deal with believers we should be very clearly aware of the fact that they relate to us, the materialists, in various ways. How is this expressed? You can talk to some believers, others do not mind if you attend their meetings. And still others...

The director of the House of Culture and I invited Nikolay Derksen, head of the Evangelical Christian-Baptists congregation, to attend the charity concert along with his fellow believers.

"When I heard his reply I felt a chill, like a cold wind from a tomb," admitted Lyudmila Petrovna Mikhaylova.

Is it not because even in the recent past we avoided meeting or discussing the most urgent, pressing topics, avoided the very arguments of which, as the old saying tells us, truth is born, that today we are witnessing vestiges of the past like we saw at the first concert at the House of Culture? Many of those attending were confused by the verses read there containing harsh attacks on our restructuring. Even though - - who can deny it?—it was precisely restructuring which made it possible to have that concert.

For a long time we, atheists and believers, simply ignored one another; if we did run into each other we behaved like mortal enemies without even trying to reach some sort of understanding. But life demonstrates the opposite: today it is impossible for us to live apart. We need only understand each person's position better and we will inevitably come to the conclusion that there is nothing dividing us. So let there be greater mutual understanding.

### **Reader Questions Need for Destroying Religious Culture**

18001413b *Moscow VETERAN* in Russian  
No 30, 24-30 Jul 89 p 5

[Letter to the editor from K. Lapkina, veteran of labor: "Is 'The Virgin' Harmful?"]

[Text] I was born in 1915 near the battlefield of Borodino. When I was little I would walk with my grandmother to the Monastery of Our Savior of Borodino. Once a year, if I disobeyed my parents, mistreated younger children or was lazy, I would confess my sins to Father Sergiey. Later, when I went to school, which was taught in the monastery buildings, it was no longer permitted to mention faith or repentance or the church. At Easter we schoolchildren were forced to sing: "Down, down with the monks, down, down with the priests. We will climb up to heaven and chase away all the gods."

Soon they destroyed—actually wiped from the face of the earth—the ancient cemetery where the remains of people who had once been greatly revered rested. A dance hall was built on the site. In the evenings you could hear people singing this "merry" couplet throughout the region: "There is no God, we don't need the czar, we recognize no one. The earth and the heavens have disappeared, all we have left is this little hummock of earth." Children and teenagers made merry in the splendid building of the former refectory, which had been converted into a club.

Our teachers did to a certain extent try to keep our young hearts within the bounds of tradition, modesty and restraint. But life taught us otherwise. We watched as the treasures of the churches and monasteries were destroyed. This was truly vandalism, terrorizing both children and adults. Icons were tossed into a heap and then burned in a stove. Religious books were ripped up because "everything in them was harmful foolishness and ignorance." Children were forbidden to go to church, and people began to despise believers.

Now we can see the results of this "work" by the Militant Godless League. We have become accustomed to ridiculing the elderly, despising the weak, not respecting believers and destroying churches. Yet is faith really so harmful? Can the "The Virgin" [Bogoroditsa] which was read by children and ended with the words "save, oh, Lord, papa, mama, grandpa, grandma, little brother and little sister" be that dangerous?

It seems to me that there is something else more terrible. I think it is terrible when young people can walk unconcerned past a poor or suffering person, when we rudely push each other aside on the street, cursing with reason and without. It is terrible to look at the pitiful ruins of the Monastery of Our Savior of Borodino, which was erected on the site where the heroes of 1812 died. Today preservationists are attempting with great difficulty, piece by piece, to recreate this senselessly desecrated holy site of our Motherland. Will they succeed? Even during the Great Patriotic War Borodino suffered less than it did in the 1920's and 1930's.

Can something yet be done to halt the spiritual decline of our society? Difficult to say. Nonetheless we must try. And it would obviously be appropriate for us to turn to the church for help as well. It possesses unique architecture, paintings in traditional styles and music which have passed the test of time. Simply being in a church elevates a person, makes him or her purer and more spiritual.

Of course I am not appealing to everyone to become a believer. That is a personal matter for each individual. I have told my story for a different reason. I want the treasures of a genuine part of our culture—the church—to also be used for the people's spiritual enrichment and to help cleanse them of that foulness of which so much has accumulated in our country over a period of many years.

### Interviews With Religious Leaders Justified

18350023a Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY  
in *Turkmen* 30 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by M. Annanurov, scientific worker at the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences Philosophy and Law department: "More Harm than Good..."]

[Text] [Question from a reader] At present, when workers are living in plenty, articles on atheism are being published in SOVET TURKMENISTANY; this is a sharp weapon in the struggle against parasitic pseudo-mollas who are looking for an easy living. In January of this year there was a talk with a Christian and a Muslim clergyman. Can the ideas of these two clergymen be considered to be of importance in educating the workers in a communist spirit? (Matyakub Matnyyazov, war and labor veteran from the Gyzyl Yyldyz kolkhoz in Koneurgench Rayon.)

[Annanurov] The Leninist decree and its principle characteristic, by approaching freedom of conscience from the point of view of Marxist-Leninist thought, declared a broad concept of freedom of conscience: freedom of atheistic belief at the same time as freedom of religious belief. V.I. Lenin laid the basis for this in 1905 when he wrote: "We demand that religion be concerned with the state, but we cannot consider religion to be a special affair of our party. The state should not work with religion, and religious societies must have no relationship with state government. Everyone must be free to believe or not believe in religion or, as a socialist, to be completely free to be an atheist. Discrimination against citizens under the law for religious belief must never be permitted. It goes without saying that there should not be any talk of the religious creeds of citizens in official documents. The state should not contribute to a state church, nor should state monies be allocated to church and religious societies; these societies must be completely free unions of like-minded citizens independent of the state." (V.I. Lenin, Works, Translation from fourth edition, volume 10, pages 74-75).

Based on these principles, the historic decree of the socialist state which separated church from state and school from church was passed in 1918. The Leninist decree declared the place of the church in the new society as a self-administering organization. According to this decree the legal, organizational and material conditions for the church in the new public life were created and every citizen was given the full possibility to be a religious believer or atheist by independently defining his own relationship to religion.

The deep content of the Leninist teachings on religion and the basis of the Soviet state's relationship to the church consist of friendly relations between citizens, their strength and unity in the new life of society. They are useful to society despite religious belief or atheism, nationality or color. The strength of the new society depends on the work capabilities of these people.

One must struggle vigilantly against false religious concepts, but those entering this conflict by denigrating religious feelings do much damage. One must fight through propaganda and education. If the struggle intensifies, we can anger the masses. Such a struggle strengthens divisions between the masses along religious lines: our strength lies in friendship. In the recent historical process in socialist society situations leading to distortions in theory and a one-sided approach in practice have emerged. The fact is that the continuation of such a situation even up to the present time has done the society more harm than good.

Returning to the democratic and humanistic foundations of Marxist-Leninist theory in atheistic-educational work and the need to use it according to the demands of the time is demanded in a time of perestroika.

In the socialist society a relentless struggle has been declared on religion and religious believers over many years, and this concept predominates in the minds of the masses to the present day. The responses of readers of SOVET TURKMENISTANY to the existence of such ideas and their persistence among certain strata of the population bear witness to this. For example, on 6 and 8 January of this year interviews with Georgiy Trifonovich Khorunji, chief cleric of the protoierey of the Ashkhabad parish (a lower organization of the Orthodox church), and the Imam-Kadi Nasrullo Ibadullayev, head of the Muslims of the republic, were printed in SOVET TURKMENISTANY under the rubric "A Remarkable Conversation." M. Matnyazov, a war and labor veteran from the Gyzyt Yyldyz Kolkhoz in Koneurgench Rayon, asked whether such interviews had any importance in giving the workers an atheist education. He came to the conclusion that the words spoken by the two clergymen had no educational importance among the workers, that they produce nothing and live parasitic lives at the cost of charity and that they are hypocritically on the side of religious truth. The report given in the newspaper on the meeting between the Muslim clergyman and secondary school students made M. Matnyazov especially angry. In his statement he comes to the conclusion that the editors are supporting the clergy and asks for a response to this on the basis of communist principles.

Certainly it is natural that war and labor veterans would have such ideas. There is no cause for surprise that the older, atheist generation holds a merciless and irreconcilable position in the religious question. They are children of their time, educated at that time. Thoughts of a relentless struggle against religion predominate in their minds. The author of the letter, by reaching the conclusion that the words expressed by the two clergymen have absolutely no importance for educational work among the workers, denies the moral and educational role of religious believers in general. He tries to inculcate the two clergymen in parasitism. By intensifying the issue himself, the author came to disturbing conclusions.

No one has the right to exacerbate the relationship between the state and the religious believers in our society. When this is the case, the history of socialist society shows that it does more harm than good. When we do not use the rich experience accumulated by the clergy over centuries and the principles by which they have influenced men's minds, lives and conduct, we neglect many aspects of the educational and moral question. Progressive thinking clergy always condemn people who make trouble for others, who steal for personal gain, who operate illegal stills, who are drunkards or narcotics addicts, or who bring shame on their colleagues. People who follow such unsatisfactory paths create condemnatory public opinion.

The newspaper report headlined "Leader Of Mosques In School" especially troubles M. Matnyazov. By claiming that the clergy are pursuing their own parasitical goals in this question, he approaches the issue onesidedly. It is known to all that the primary question for the man before the masses is his reputation, whether he is a religious believer or an atheist. It is clear to those who organized this meeting between the clergymen and the youth that the meeting was not intended for their parasitic, economic goals, but rather for a straightforward educational purpose. It is necessary to bear in mind the great educational importance for youth of the appeals of their parents who are religious believers or the clergy as expressed in their prayers or their advice on honoring one's parents, being humanistic, earning money through honest labor and in general being honorable in all questions. It is clear to all that various kinds of crime have proliferated among the youth in recent years, that there are still major weaknesses in ideological education, and that all possibilities in educational work are still not being fully exploited.

Religious workers are speaking out constantly on questions of importance to all mankind such as the need for people to live in peace and to save the world from nuclear destruction and disarmament. In addition to these, the clergy provide support in connection with resolving questions pertaining to the country's internal affairs and have given much financial help to the Peace Fund, the V. I. Lenin Children's Fund, to the public fund established in connection with domestic natural catastrophes and for the maintenance and restoration of ancient architectural monuments. Certainly it is clear to all that this financial aid comes from monies given voluntarily by religious believers for religious organizations, even for the survival of the religious organization itself. The religious organization, in its turn, accounts for its funds to the religious believers. Thus, there are no grounds to claim that they go to the parasitic life of the clergy. If the official religious worker makes a mistake about this, it is discussed at meetings of the organization of religious believers. If it is proven that the leader of the religious organization is involved in nefarious deeds or parasitism, the religious organization will lead the condemnatory public opinion against him. If he is the head of the religious organization, he is fired.



As is well known, instances when some religious representatives are interested in making some easy money and cheating their countrymen by declaring some ancient architectural monuments or well known graves to be "holy" places occur. Of course, those engaged in this kind of work are exposed rigorously through atheist propaganda. Condemnation is expressed because the actions of such individuals do not adhere to the correct path of Islam. No one can support such people who seek to live in a parasitic manner, without working.

If it is proven that the word of a religious servant does not correspond with his deeds, that he is hypocritical and blatantly parasitical, he is not only condemned by the public, but a criminal investigation can be launched against him: one should not forget that all men are equal before the law.

It is necessary to clarify something here. Money and other types of contributions given by believers voluntarily for religious services in connection with family or marriage relationships is kept under the control of the religious organization itself. This money is expended for the internal needs of the religious organization and the salaries of the official religious representatives. A significant portion of such monies is transferred to the higher religious organization. The remains are used for charitable work.

Now our society is undergoing a process of perestroika. Right thinking religious representatives are also supplying an impetus to perestroika. They are helping to quickly remove the harmful mistakes of capitalism and feudalism, and the negative habits and customs covered up by Islam from men's minds and lives. Religious believers, by condemning loafers, drunkards and narcotics addicts, call men to pure, honest labor. They preach advice such as "first work, then reward."

During the present period of perestroika the state's policy on religion is proceeding along the line of Marxist-Leninist policy. The use of the principle of freedom of conscience in the full meaning of the word in the religious question and in work conducted with religious believers, approaching this issue by means of Leninist principles, and eliminating methods such as declaring a pointless struggle against religion and religious believers is helping in the dissemination of general educational and moral work on broad democratic foundations.

**'Support Points' Established for Atheist Education**  
18350021b Ashkhabad SOVIET TURKMENISTANY  
in *Turkmen* 14 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by S. Oveznepesov, support point chief: "A Demand of the Time"]

[Text] After April 1985, all spheres of Soviet society underwent a basic change. Very contemporary principles of atheist education conducted among the population were proposed. As a result of these some changes

occurred in our republic. The recent establishment of a support point for atheist education is a relevant example of this. The support point which I am going to discuss is subordinate to the Institute of Scientific Atheism of the Social Sciences Academy of the CPSU Central Committee. More precisely, it is directly subordinate to the interrepublic affiliate of this institute which is located in Tashkent. The newly established support point will serve as a fundamental base to conduct allround scientific research on atheism. One of its important duties is to provide party committees with scientific-methodological help. The support point will study in detail the level of religious belief among the population. Sociological research will help the organization. It will analyze the results in depth from the scientific and practical points of view. It will study new ideological trends in religious organizations and ascertain the status of atheistic work among the population.

We have noted that the new support point which was established in our republic according to the demands of the time is still a new organization. Thus, we should mention some organizational questions. Support points are being established under the central committees of the communist parties of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan and our republic. Support points are being established within the obkoms of the aforementioned republics. It is planned to establish them where conditions are appropriate and in places where there are cadres. Thus, support points will be widespread in our union and not only in Central Asia and Kazakhstan; they are also being established under party obkoms in the North Caucasus, Tatarstan, Baskiria and Adjaristan.

As a rule, the support points will have their own buildings with offices for the chiefs. Those helping in their daily work will receive economic incentives; it is planned to pay honorariums for speeches delivered. Surveys of atheistic materials will be written. Scholars and similar workers in the field of atheism at scientific research institutes will be drawn into the work of the point. Teachers at higher schools, and education, culture and public health workers will provide support for the support point. Every question of the support points will be the subject of devoted work at the houses of atheism, and organizers of atheistic education will participate in this actively. The support point must provide support to propagandists and lecturers, students and journalists, and party, comsomol and trade union workers. The support point will play a fundamental role in directing their effective work into a clear channel. Thus, atheism will become more militant.

The support point will be provided with timely guidance. It will also serve to provide appropriate recommendations to party committees. These will be published regularly in QUESTIONS OF SCIENTIFIC ATHEISM of the institute in Moscow, the information bulletin of its Tashkent affiliate and other publications.

Our republic's support point will report constantly on its work to the affiliate in Tashkent. It will always report on its research being conducted and acquaint the affiliate with the progress of its work. It will generalize its experience in atheistic work and pass it on to the affiliate. The support point will state its ideas about materials on atheism on radio and television. Summing up materials printed in the republic, oblast and rayon press about this matter, it will add its own ideas about these and send them along to the affiliate. The establishing of close relations with editors to insure the effectiveness of materials on morality, internationalism and the friendship of peoples in ideological instruments such as newspapers, journals, books, radio and television will be part of the duty of the support point.

We thought it correct to select a staff of twelve people for the support point established in our republic; normally it would be seven to nine. The reason for departing from the norm is that we intend to conduct atheist propaganda on a wide scale. We are taking one person from every oblast, one from Krasnovodsk and the rest from Ashkhabad. One of the twelve will be the chief, and the others staff. The staff will meet once every two months and analyze work done and in progress, and plan the duties set before them. If necessary, they can meet more often.

What is the basic function of the support point? The point, as the name indicates, will assemble the plans of scientific administrations and scholars in the field of scientific atheism, no matter to whom they are subordinate, of our republic and its oblasts, and direct them. It will discuss final results in questions of atheist education in the republic, oblasts and rayons—in short, everywhere. Higher schools can help us in this work. The support point will call to the attention of party committees the results of materials under examination and provide constant help to party organizations in the field of atheism. It will be obligated to prepare for and conduct in an exemplary manner scientific practical conferences, discussions, symposiums, round tables, tea-time talks and other ideological measures in the field of atheism.

It will identify to local party organizations books on atheist education and important articles published in newspapers.

It will help party committee in the training of atheist cadres, and give advice on their selection.

#### **Need for Atheism Propaganda Questioned** 18320019

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata SOTSIALISTIK QAZAQSTAN in Kazakh on 5 April 1989 carries on page 3 a 3,000-word article by Prof. S. Dorzhenov, doctor of historical science, published under the rubric "Ideological Work: Atheism Education," entitled "Perestroika and Key Questions of Atheism Propaganda." The article seeks to answer the question, posed rhetorically, of whether or not atheism propaganda is still necessary in this new era of perestroika and democracy, with its greater toleration, even encouragement of religion and religious activities (such as the rebuilding of churches and celebration of religious centennials). It is, Dorzhenov answers, since the fundamental communist position towards religion has remained unchanged, only now persecution of the religious, something which he characterizes as a distortion of the Leninist teaching, is no longer in accord with the "needs of the time." He goes on to argue that religion, per se, should be tolerated, as well as believers. What anti-religious propaganda must now focus on are negative, heterodox (as defined by the party, he makes clear) aspects of religion totally out of kilter with the times and party aims. Dorzhenov, for example, attacks "dogmatic mullahs" who actually know very little about Islam and seeks only to fleece the people. He also condemns the association of religion with nationalism and chauvinism. In the end, he concludes, religion must be viewed as a complex phenomenon, a mixture of good and bad. Party propagandists must now seek to sift out the good from the bad in order to bring religion and the party closer to one another. He provides much practical guidance as to how this should be done, most notably through simply examining, in the case of funerals, for example, what is needed, traditional and socially acceptable. Relief work by Western religious organizations in the wake of Soviet man-made and natural disasters is praised as an example of the positive side of religion. However, Dorzhenov, on the other hand, strongly condemns identification by the Western press of Soviet Muslims as a monolithic force, waiting to rebel and join with co-religionists farther south. Soviet Muslims are soviet citizens; Uzbeks or Kazakhs first, Muslims second.

### Thaw of '56', Spring of '85'—Totally Different Phenomena

18001293 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian  
25 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Ye. Dvornikov: "Where Has the Poetry Gone: Polemical Notes"]

[Text] You see practically no poems in the central newspapers now. They have also sharply declined in the local press. When not a single poetic line was printed in the columns of Moscow newspapers on one of the recent "red holidays," Sergey Ostrovoy was unable to restrain himself and sounded the tocsin. From the tribune of the writers' plenum he angrily described what has happened as an extraordinary event: Never before has the muse experienced such a cool attitude toward itself.

Last winter the creative association of Moscow poets even organized a special meeting on "Poetry in the Press." The poets sent a letter to PRAVDA: "What has happened?.. Perhaps there is no room in the papers for poems or the newspaper people and the poets are working to solve different ideological problems?.. You cannot continue to hold poetry in the wings like an extra or to maintain audiences at the expense of the favorites."

Well, it is not hard to understand the perplexity of the writers: There is a product but something seems to be wrong with the "market." There are, of course, as in the old times, "fat journals," especially literary publications and literary miscellany and nobody has abolished the publication of anthologies, more or less as it was earlier. With one exception: The country has in fact taken leave of the poetic boom.

It is not only the daily periodicals that have felt this on themselves, but the publishing houses as well. The size of editions has declined appreciably. One poet, by no means a novice, is barely selling 5-7000 copies of his books that have been published. The publishing houses are also taking a loss. Under conditions of economic accountability, they would happily cease to concern themselves with poetry altogether, but are forced to suffer. In the final account, it is not the fault of any kind of literature that it suddenly "goes out of style."

Bulat Okudzhava, it is true, considers the situation to be completely normal, and that what it is precisely the opposite, what is abnormal, is the poetic underground that has been observed in past years. And the a drop in the water level, in his view, is in the nature of things. We simply have become too accustomed to the leadership of poetry in the pages and on the stage, and we are now bewildered because of a natural situation, when poetry is not in the vanguard, but among the others in the ranks.

Whoever is really interested in poems will find them within the covers of journals, will seek them out in book stores and libraries. And if an author does not enjoy success, then indeed the audience selects a "favorite" not

for his pretty eyes, but for something else, and with regard to the question of "what has happened" our poet brothers should turn not only to the editorial offices, but also to themselves. And to the times as a whole, as well.

To the times? Here the opponents usually have their favorite analogy ready. Recall, they say, the "thaw" at the end of the fifties and compare it with the present process of democratization and glasnost—is there really not a similarity? And if there is, then why in that memorable period did it happen that poetry was riding the crest of a wave, but is now an outcast? Has writing talent declined, are there no interesting new names? What is wrong?

No, the old poetic guard has by no means lost its prowess. And the "new wave," in terms of its audacity and innovation, particularly in the area of form, yields nothing, let us say, to the young Andrey Voznesenskiy—just like their non-ordinary and venturesome precursor, the modern-day vanguardists are also capable of stunning with a metaphor (is it for nothing that they call themselves metaphorists?) and to give an associated dressing-down, and there is no shortage of rebels among them. And all the same, the social response is not the same. The echo does not shoot right through the forest, it wanders not further than its literary edge. A paradox?

Not a paradox at all. Indeed, it only appears as though we are living through something similar to the "thaw" at the end of the fifties. But this not true at all! Then, we had the shock of 1956, the shock of sudden revelation, and the country was drawn to the poets because, in fact, "the poet in Russia is more than a poet." There was a need to give expression to the outpouring of citizens' feelings and nobody else was able to take upon themselves this bitter and at the same time lofty task. Only the poet. Poetry became our confession. Our common bitterness and our common hope. The truth about the cult of personality struck a harsh blow to our firm faith and illusions. What else? Many of us gauged our own spiritual values using the arrow of poetry, which ranged on the scale between "love" and "hate". At that time, the soul of poetry was by far the most sensitive one and was therefore particularly attractive.

We came completely differently to the present changes, although they too are called revolutionary. This time, there was no shock of any kind. To the contrary, everybody knew about everything. They knew about the sentimental favoritism of a feeble general secretary, about his driving love for decorative finery, about the lack of talent of his closest advisors, who served this new "cult," they knew about the resuscitation machine which followed Leonid Ilich everywhere, whether to a ceremonial meeting or a hockey match. They knew about the accepted "rules of the game"—not to talk about things that are painful but to talk about what is soothing to the ear. They knew about the skidding economy, about the neglected social programs, about the sharply climbing corruption. They waited for all this to end, secretly

setting their hopes on ... the end of one person. Perhaps this general expectation, together with sarcastic banter about their own apathy—perhaps precisely this was the most oppressive embodiment of stagnation. And April 1985 was met not with shock, but with a long-awaited sigh: "Well, finally." And this sigh had no need for a poetic voice. No revelations, and no insights. I repeat: In general, everybody knew about everything. The time had come specifically and particularly to make things public and additionally determine the degree of confession. These are not roles for poetry. Here documents, objective testimony, diaries, and memoirs move to the center stage. The public is thirsting for straight facts, for facts that have not been processed through any kind of literary polishing—above all, facts, naked facts, laid bare, like a nerve.

Poetry now could not take flight to days past using its two traditional wings—"love" and "hate." Discussion on the level of emotions had come to an end. What was needed now was analysis, ideas, a model, the development of alternative solutions. The question of how society must live in the future was transferred from the distant, abstract sphere, to which we were accustomed, to the plane of most urgent, current realities. And just as the public had once been drawn to the poets, it now thirstily rushed to the publicists, the economists, sociologists, futurologists, lawyers, jurists, and simply to the honest and conscientious citizens of our homeland. Perhaps for the first time in our history, as a whole country, we asked ourselves the "seditious" question of where have we gone and what, in the final account, we have built. Here, poetic perceptions and even intuition is not enough. Something else is preferable—all-round knowledge, dispassionate assessment of the past and selection of a path for the future. The need for general slogans and abstract prophesies has disappeared but, to make up for, a burning need has arisen for sober-thinking specialists who are conscious of the entire drama of the situation and are capable of suggesting ways out of our dead-end.

The fact that specifically the press and the daily periodicals have today become the dominant influence, having supplanted the poets in this field, only underlines my thought: The "thaw of '56" and the "spring of '85"—with all their external similarities—are two entirely different stages in public self-consciousness. We have taken another turn.

Yevgeniy Yevtushenko who like nobody else, it would seem, knows the secrets of success and grasps the finest nuances of readers' interest, has tried by poetic means to compete with the topical interview and reporting on events. He published two large poems—"Bukharin's Wife" [Zhena Bukharina] and "The Shawl" [Platok] (about the events in Nagorno Karabakh). And what happened? Nothing like the impact which, let us say, "Stalin's Heirs" [Nasledniki Stalina] had in its time. Just as an actor on the stage is not able to play the part of a baby or a live dog, the poet today is incapable of

"playing" journalism. Poems written in the wake of newspaper articles or books are condemned to be only their reflection. I am talking about this by no means in order somehow to reproach Yevtushenko. To the contrary, his attempts to find a way by any means to reach the reader's "inner self" is worthy of understanding. But what worked thirty years ago does not work now.

When the character of demand changes, one may of course to become angry with the traditional product. But it is possible to take a broader view: What has happened with regard to the demand itself? And then, possibly, things will become clearer.

...The newspaper *VECHERNYAYA MOSKVA* from time to time prints lists of the today's most popular literary names and works, determined with the help of questionnaires. Here there is also, without fail, a poetic "top ten" (existing, it would seem, despite the melancholy tone of these comments). Who is in the ten? With different variations, only two or three names of those masters popular today: Bulat Okudzhava, Iosif Brodskiy, Stanislav Kunyaev, Yuriy Levitanskiy... But the other "stars"—N. Gumilev, M. Tsvetayeva, A. Akhmatova, M. Voloshin, M. Petrovykh—have by no means appeared currently in the poetic heavens and have already long been acknowledged by the world as classics. I dare to think that the secret of their present massive popularity is the fact that, over the course of the decades, they have remained, alas, not so much stars as "blank spots." Our time of liberation finally, without evident and secret brakes, is acquainting millions of readers with the creativity of this brilliant pliad. Acquaintance, knowledge—is this not the primary explanation of the high level of their present success? Of course, strong confessional verse has value in itself—but it is doubly attractive if the barriers are destroyed that yesterday were assiduously raised between it and the reader... What about society? Here is what: Society wants to know about the persecuted not by hearsay but first-hand.

Why is it that modern poets are not idols? Have we really not all confessed, all together? Is the road bad that does not lead to the temple? We have confessed, but—don't consider it blasphemy—it will be fitting to discuss a temple when, for all that, there are... real, earthly roads. As long as the poor condition of Russian roads thrives, as long as store shelves are shocking by their emptiness, as long as ecological misfortunes approach with inevitable menace, as long as inter-ethnic quarrels surface, having exuded from a bygone "off-chance" and now bleeding dangerously—the image itself of the Temple is not the primary requirement of human thought. Don't aim at the lofty. Master the everyday, the urgent.

Turn on the radio or television and you will come across concert shows by the countless musical groups and ensembles that have mesmerized our young people—listen to what they are singing about today, to the kind of poetry that controls their souls. Alongside the thirst for



the books of Akhmatova and Tsvetayeva, a thirst dictated by the desire to eliminate the "blank spots," the vulgar primitive is very much alive. Poets and librettists of low manner are getting ovations which neither Shakespeare nor Pushkin ever dreamed of. What has happened to poetry? Why is the defiant primitive its banner? Why are discord, discomfort, and disharmony its delight? We will not answer these questions if we do not understand what has happened to society. It hurts where it hurts.

So, has true poetry gone by the board? Today and forever? Oh no. The Temple cannot disappear from our existence; it will unfailing show through the smoke and dust of a chaotic world—poetry is alive as long as hope lives. But the need for verse must arise within society itself—it cannot be imposed by force.

I recall the words of Natalya Nikolayevna Goncharova about Pushkin: "I very much do not want to disturb my husband with all my petty household cares; even without this I see how he is sad, depressed, cannot sleep at night... For him to be able to write, his head must be free." This is true, to be sure. But the head has to be free not only in order to write—also in order to take in what has been written.

#### **Solzhenitsyn's 'Gulag' To Be Printed in Estonian Journal**

18001404 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA  
in Russian 1 Jul 89 p 2

[Article by R. Kruus, editor of the Criticism, Literary Studies and Information Department of the journal LOOMING: "LOOMING Prints 'The Gulag Archipelago'"]

[Text] The sixth, June, issue of the Estonian literary monthly LOOMING opens with a translation of Chapter 1 ("Arrest") of Aleksandr Isayevich Solzhenitsyn's Literary Investigation, "The Gulag Archipelago 1918-1956." Subsequent issues will carry Chapter 2 ("The History of Our Sewage Disposal System") and Chapter 3 ("The Interrogation") from Part I ("The Prison Industry"). At the author's request the royalties for the publication will be contributed to the Russian Public Fund.

Last September our editors asked Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn for permission to print "Gulag's" beginning chapters in LOOMING journal. Publication in Estonian of all seven parts (more than 1,500 pages, which in foreign editions usually comprise three volumes), especially in a journal, would create too many problems. On 10 Nov 88 the writer responded to LOOMING's editor-in-chief Andres Langemets: "I readily and affectionately give you permission to print the first three chapters of my 'Archipelago' in Estonian—with the understanding, of course, that you will precede them with the two prefaces and two dedications that open the first volume."

The publication is based on the 1987 YMCA-PRESS Russian edition. The text was translated by Henno Arrak and Edwin Hidell, who performed an important and difficult task.

It is natural and understandable that chapters from "Gulag" should appear in a journal in Estonia. The very first translations of Solzhenitsyn's work won him the well-deserved acclaim of Estonian readers. His "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" appeared in the spring of 1963 in the "Loomingu Raamatukogu" series in a printing of 40,000 copies. It was followed the next year by a volume in the same series featuring "It Happened at Krechetovka Station" and "For the Good of the Cause." The torrent of slander which assailed Solzhenitsyn in the USSR shortly afterwards had the effect of increasing rather than reducing his popularity in Estonia. So at the very first opportunity Estonia displayed a different attitude towards Solzhenitsyn's work. Thus, already on 18 September 1988, the newspaper of the Tallinn Polytechnical Institute printed Solzhenitsyn's 1974 appeal, "Live Not In Falsehood!", which has, essentially, not lost its topicality to this day. In December of last year Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn was 70 years old. On this occasion LOOMING (No 12) and the newspaper EDAZI (No 289) carried articles by Heli Susi and Arno Susi. It is gratifying that the Tartu Russian-language newspaper VPERED marked this literary occasion with an item by Anatoliy Velichko, while on 28 April the newspaper of the Tallinn Pedagogical Institute devoted an entire Russian-language page to Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. On 18 May the Writers House sponsored a literary evening, "Live Not In Falsehood," attended by a capacity audience, at which excerpts of translations from "The Gulag Archipelago" and "The Oak and the Calf" were read, and Heli Susi and Lembitu Aassalo spoke about the links between "Gulag" and its author and Estonia.

There is no longer any need to conceal the fact that a large portion of "Gulag" was written in the 1960s in Estonia. In the afterword to his work Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn states when he commenced (27 April 1958) and completed it (22 February 1967), as well as the places where he wrote: Ryazan - Ukryvishche. The latter name denotes, among others, the places in Estonia where he worked on "Gulag." However, those who at the time helped the writer—then not yet a Nobel Prize Laureate—are entitled to have the first say on this. Nevertheless, it may be appropriate to note here that Solzhenitsyn's friendship with Estonia dates back to the spring of 1945, when fate brought him together with Estonian lawyer Arnold Susi in a Lubyanka cell, which he writes about in the chapter 5 of part I.

"And although I had never expected to become interested in Estonia, much less bourgeois democracy, I nevertheless kept listening and listening to his loving stories of twenty free years in that modest, work-loving, small nation of big men whose ways were slow and set. I listened to the principles of the Estonian constitution,

which had been borrowed from the best of European experience, and to how their hundred-member one-house parliament had worked. And, though the why of it wasn't clear, I began to like and store it away in all my experience. (Susi remembered me later as a strange mixture of Marxist and democrat. Yes, things were wildly mixed up inside me at that time.) I listened willingly to their fatal history: the tiny Estonian anvil had, from way, way, back, been caught between two hammers, the Teutons and the Slavs. Blows showered on it from East and West in turn; there was no end to it, and there still isn't. And there was the well-known (totally unknown) story of how we Russians wanted to take them over in one fell swoop in 1918, but they refused to yield. And how, later on, Yudenich spoke contemptuously of their Finnish heritage, and we ourselves christened them as 'White Guard Bandits.' Then the Estonian gymnasium students enrolled as volunteers. We struck at Estonia again in 1940, and again in 1941, and again in 1944. Some of their sons were conscripted by the Russian Army, and others by the German Army, and still others ran off into the woods. The elderly Tallinn intellectuals discussed how they might break out of that iron ring, break away somehow, and live for themselves and by themselves. Their Premier might, possibly, have been Tšef, and their Minister of Education, say, Susi. But neither Churchill nor Roosevelt cared about them in the least: 'Uncle Joe' did. And during the very first nights after the Soviet armies entered Tallinn, all these dreamers were seized in their Tallinn apartments, fifteen of them were imprisoned in various cells of the Moscow Lybyanka, one in each, and were charged under Article 58-2 with the criminal desire for national self-determination."

Later, in the Gulag, Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn met many other Estonians, notably sports personality Georg Tenno (1914-1967), hero of Chapter 6 ("The Convinced Escapee") in Part 5. After his rehabilitation Solzhenitsyn first came to Estonia to see some friends in 1958. Then, from the summer of 1963, he visited many times in connection with his work on "Gulag." One of the original typescripts of his Investigation circulated (and was read) in Estonia for quite some time. Naturally, foreign Russian publications found their way into Estonia, too, and the first Samizdat translations appeared.

Following the partial journal publication the question will naturally arise of publishing the full translation. The Eesti Raamat publishing house is already contemplating this. I will mention but one of many problems. As is known, Estonia's printing capabilities are very limited. Because of that historian Mart Laar, for example, on whose initiative a vast amount of material on repression directed against the inhabitants of Estonia has been assembled, was forced this year to publish his book, which included but a small portion of the collected material, in Finland and in Finnish. Not everyone in Estonia can get and read the book. An absurd situation has developed. Books in demand by Estonian readers are published in Finland, Sweden or Canada. Russian

readers need "The Gulag Archipelago," but it is appearing in Estonian. Of course, we can hope that soon Russian editions of "Gulag" will appear in the Soviet Union. But even then, initially there won't be enough copies to go around. Perhaps SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA could publish some portions of "Gulag" on a to-be-continued basis? After all, it contains a fair amount of material associated with Soviet Estonia.

**'Black Market' Book Prices 'Legalized'**  
18001217a Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 11 Jun 1989 First Edition p 6

[Article by B. Babayev: "Have They Legalized Speculation?"]

[Text] Gorkiy—The counters of the book stores have cheered up. And truly it is dazzling, one does not know where look first. And what is surprising is that there are all kinds of scarce books—for any taste. In the store on Gorkiy Square, I saw a whole library of mysteries. The customers get all excited, but they don't rush over to the cashier. And how could they? A three volume set of Adamov, which should cost 8 rubles 70 kopecks, is being sold for... 110 rubles. The volumes in the "Western Detective" series also cost 10 times or more the list prices.

"Downright speculation!" protests a middle-aged man.

The young salesgirl politely explains, "In our department we sell at contract prices [i.e., asking prices set by individual sellers] that the owners of the books have set themselves and not the store.

"Do you approve of the sale of books at exorbitant prices like those on the black market?"

"Of course, it is the same kind of speculation," agrees the salesgirl, "but on the other hand people can buy the books they want, which they could not be able to get any other way."

"But you personally, on your salary, could you buy a copy of Adamov?"

"Of course not."

The fantastic prices put the customers in a state of shock. A local press published "White Glove" by Main Reid. I was lucky enough to buy it for 80 kopecks. Lucky is the right word, since the asking price here is 18 rubles. If we are to believe the book-trade flier, all this is being done exclusively "with the goal of satisfying the population's needs more fully." However, they have neglected to specify precisely what segment of the population can afford to make use of the services of the legalized "black market."

The previous "black" market, which the black marketeers disguised as a place where books were exchanged, has gone into something of a decline. The need for illegal trading has disappeared, since it is now possible to fleece the book-lover without any risk. Furthermore, the prices, in the opinion of those who know, have gotten even higher, since the sellers have to recoup the 20 percent that must be given to the store. As a result both the stores and the sellers gain. The only losers are the very population for whose good this enterprise was undertaken.

"What do you see as the purpose of trading at contractual prices?" I asked the merchandising expert in the largest House of Books in the city, L. Bobylova.

"It allows us to fulfill the plan for selling literature."

Yes, the plan, as in the past, represents an increase over what has been achieved. This year the plan has increased again and amounts to 120 thousand rubles. Book store personnel believe that it will be very difficult, even impossible, to fulfill it only by selling scarce books (at list prices). Here the contractual prices can save the situation.

We, unfortunately, have already grown accustomed both to the shortages and to the constantly rising prices. But it is another matter to encourage actual speculation—and in what goods? in books! Why has commerce decided to fill its coffers from the purses of book lovers? As everyone knows, a bad example is contagious. Why not do the same with boots, panty-hose, soap, razor blades, cosmetics and other scarce goods. Why shouldn't one buy something wholesale somewhere in Moscow and sell it retail in Gorkiy—at contractual prices.

Absurd? But why don't people say the same when it comes to books?

### Theater Season Reviewed

18001217b Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA  
in Russian 11 Jun 89 p 4

[Article by Valeriy Turovskiy: "The Season Has Ended"]

[Text] The traditional ceremony for concluding theater seasons, which at times in the past attracted a large audience of professionals, this time was more modestly attended. From all of theatrical Moscow, there were scarcely more than 100 to whom this discussion seemed necessary and useful. References were made to the live broadcast of the Congress of Peoples' Deputies, which, it was implied, was a great deal more interesting and dramatic than this year's theater season. What is there to say about this season, when it began, continued, and ended to the accompaniment of unfulfilled expectations, the pessimists asserted.

Indeed, the beginning of the past theater season was not promising. It is true that the MKhAT (Moscow Art Theater), which had split into two parts, started to put on

more productions, but, let us be objective, these were far from being of the highest quality. Premiere after premiere (more than one could keep track of) gave rise to the identical feeling—deep dissatisfaction.

With time, it is true, it became clear that this division was really essential. At least it proved definitively that Oleg Efremov's MKhAT was in a pre-crisis state. But it proved even more clearly that the claims of the second MKhAT group to full-fledged artistic creativity, for the present, are not supported by anything other than the self-confidence and nerve of its artistic management. Even the attempts to turn such talented directors as Sergey Danchenko ("Cherry Orchard"), Roman Viktyuk ("Old Actress in the Role of Dostoyevskiy's Wife"), and Valentin Velyakovich ("Dump") into temporary allies did not bring great artistic felicity. When seeds fall into soil exhausted by strife, what kind of harvest can there be?..

Many aspects of the situation at MKhAT are typical of pattern of theatrical life in the nation as a whole, not only in Moscow. Feverish attempts to express one's own opinions on the most timely and critical problems calmly coexist with apathy and eloquent silence of many years' standing. It has thus happened that the most timely and critical and progressive show of this theatrical season, "Alive" by Boris Mozhayev and Yuriy Lyubimov in the Theater on Taganka, was a play which is 21 years old.

It is easy to understand why more than two decades ago they attempted to kill "Alive" and in the end succeeded. It is also easy to understand why this play, which has not grown dated at all, so moves and disturbs today's playgoers, who are tormented by the accursed questions of how we could have lived like that, allowed them to degrade and humiliate us so.

In this sense, today's "Alive" seems to me even more terrible in its universality than the original one. At that time we could be heartened by the courage of Taganka, daring to hint that the Soviet authorities in certain places were not sufficiently scrupulous with regard to their electors. Today fists and jaws meet from just the memory of how they treated us, as well as how we allowed these things to be done to us. And only the invincible Fedor Kuzkin, no matter how this shameful life bent and hammered at him, remained alive and unbent.

Sovremennik (Contemporary) Theater's production of "Winding Trail" was staged before the ink was dry after the publication of Evgeniy Ginzburg's story. Of course, it would be naive to assume that this story was not previously known to the theater. But as was the case of "Alive," so it was for "Winding Trail," the present began only today. Galina Volchek's production, not without its faults, as we are accustomed to tactfully put it, does not force us to discuss its faults. Neither they, nor the nervous tension and density of this endlessly honest work of literature and the stage, are sufficient to drive us to an analysis of its shortcomings.

The "anti-Stalinist" theme that has come into fashion is not the product of opportunism, but of the spiritual need to say now, today, this minute as much as possible about that bloody time, so as to diminish the ranks of the adherents of Stalinism. After all, we all can remember Khrushchev's timid accusations, which, precisely because of their timidity, turned the thaw into the next long ice age.

Now immeasurably more has been said about those monstrous times and this inspires confidence in the impossibility of the return of anything similar in our land.

The past theatrical season was a season encompassing a long period of artistic shake-up, exhausting expectations, endless claims and complaints. One asked oneself when the time will finally come when visits to the theater are justified, when they add at least something to the heart and mind, and do not merely demonstrate familiar and tiresome stagecraft.

And yet during this time it was as if the theater were gathering energy, as if it were making ready for a long-awaited burst of interest in it, laughing at the idle judgments of the critics (I myself am at fault, who is without fault?) concerning the fact that there is nothing to wait for, that the theater has gone into hibernation, that things were no worse even during the period of stagnation.

And suddenly, one after another, came premieres, each of which is worthy of separate discussion—not always apologetic discussion, more likely critical, but serious discussion nonetheless, long-awaited constructive discussion. The confining framework of this quick overview limits me to a mere enumeration, but even this list is capable of catching the imagination.

Evidently, we all have already forgotten that there was a time when the presence of three to five successful plays along with 30 to 50 unsuccessful ones was the norm. Indeed this is the norm: masterpieces are born vastly less often than one would like. And if there are three to five names in a season which evoke discussion and dispute, this means that the current complex season has been an unquestioned success.

Mark Zakharov staged "Wise Man," which was not so much A.N. Ostrovskiy's play "In Every Wise Man There Is Enough Simplicity," as a free fantasy, evoking in us the memory of our own and our theater's youth, when the play "Lucrative Place" in the Satirical Theater fell under the artillery fire of the adherents of classicism. Now no one would dare to speak of the inviolability of the classics, about their museum-piece status. Thank God, people have finally understood that a play [as written] and a production of it are different artistic realities and have the right to independent existences.

This right was always exercised by M. Zakharov, extensively and with talent, regardless of bans and harangues. He is again exercising this right, after an intermission of almost 3 years, he is again creating a malicious, ironic, sarcastic production which possesses an irrepressible, limitless supply of directorial ingenuity and directorial energy.

Several seasons back could we have dreamed of the production on the academic stage of, for example, "Zoykin's Apartment"? And now—just look: the production put on by the Shchukin Theatrical School has been moved to the Vakhtangovskiy Theater, which for many years lived not so much through success, but through the inertia of success and the memory of past successes. With Garri Chernyakhovskiy's staging of Bulgakov's out-of-favor play, the forgotten and lost Vakhtangovskiy principle, which this theater has always used to captivate its audience, has been returned.

Or, for example, it would have been impossible, not several years ago, but even several months ago to have The Theater on Malaya Bronnaya [Street] production of "Walpurgis Night or the Commodore's Footsteps" based on the play by Venedikt Yerofeyev, the world famous author of the poem "Moscow to Petushka," who is now only just beginning to really be known and acknowledged in his native land. This bitter farce, this gloomy fable about our ill-starred life was directed by Vladimir Portnov, with a very accurate feeling for the specific, unique humor of this remarkable writer.

And are things really going badly for the relaxation of stricturesmoral when on the Moscow stage there appears an adaptation of the prose of Vladimir Nabokov "Invitation to a Beheading" in the Theater imeni M.N. Yermolov? Or the adaptation by Albert Camus' of Dostoyevskiy's novel, "The Possessed," in the Theater imeni A.S. Pushkin? Or the fact the Soviet Army Theater has put on D. Merezhkovskiy's remarkable play "Paul I"?

In all this one can finally see hope if not for a theatrical renaissance, at least for a renewal. In the final analysis, something has begun to shift, to move off dead center, to stop being at a standstill. The theater has begun to overcome its timidity more boldly, to get back the gift of direct speech, which was so long lacking in the theater and its audience.

Of course, it would be premature and incorrect to rejoice in this as a successful theatrical season. Our optimism and even moderate degree of delight has been evoked simply by the fact that the results of this theatrical season have turned out in actual fact to be less miserable than they seemed in the beginning. Some sort of confidence is being born that in the future this trend will increase and the theater will finally resume its rightful position.



**Moscow Film Festival Attempts To Change Image**  
*18001217c Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA  
INDUSTRIYA in Russian 13 Jun 1989 p 4*

[Article by Andrey Plakhov, film reviewer: "Thirty Years Later"]

[Text] Less than a month remain until Moscow is to host the Sixteenth International Film Festival. This year the festival is 30 years old, and this evokes memories of certain vibrant pages of its history. Born in the atmosphere of Khrushchev's thaw after the freeze of the cold war, our film forum helped the whole world discover the Soviet Union and its culture. The Moscow festival occupied a special, distinctive place among its peers—the large number of other film festivals conducted in various countries. The size of the Moscow audiences, the mass participation by the public always struck our guests, who included many outstanding world figures in the art of the film.

Such prize-winning films as Sergey Bondarchuk's "Man's Fate," and Grigoriy Chukhrya's "Pure Sky," "Bare Island" by the Japanese, Kaneto Shindo, and "8 1/2" by the Italian Federico Fellini became legends of festival Moscow. The "stars" of the festival were Sofia Loren and Gina Lollobrigida, Daniyel Olbrykhskii and Gerard Deparde...

But, alas, the memories are not exclusively happy. With the years the festival became more and more politicized, and overgrown with official and diplomatic ceremonies, diverting it from its main goal—artistic communication and enrichment. The number of countries participating increased ("all the flags of the world are visiting us.") Distinguished guests came more and more rarely and were replaced by civil servants and distributors. After a Soviet film was passed over for the prize, the international jury began to be monitored. And how was it selected? Suffice it to say that its chairman was, without exception, the Soviet representative, and what is more—it was one and the same individual for three (!) festivals in a row.

Gradually the festival lost more and more of its democratic spirit, and turned into a formal occasion, while artistic discussions were replaced by social receptions with a great deal to eat and drink. The main thing was that during the years of stagnation the artistic level of the films entered decreased sharply and the worldwide prestige of the festival dropped catastrophically. "Good vodka and bad films" was the caustic but justified title of an article on one festival in a Western publication.

An attempt to change the face of the festival was undertaken 2 years ago at the initiative of the reorganized USSR Union of Filmmakers, but it was not entirely successful. Now it is time for the next step.

The current festival differs from the previous one if only by the fact that it will no longer cover documentary and children's films. The topics of the films will be expanded, and in accordance with the general humanistic spirit will not be limited by anything other than a single criterion—artistic quality. A special commission selected only 20 films to compete—many fewer than in the past—and the jury will be able to award only four prizes. This in itself will increase the prestige of the competition and its future prizewinners.

But, perhaps, the main innovation is that for the first time the festival will become not a festival of nations, but of films. There will be no official delegations, the pictures will be submitted in the name of their creators—directors and other artists.

What films have ended up in the competition under the new system of selection? Let us start with films by major artists with international reputations. The Hungarian Miklos Yanco will show his parable, "The Horoscope of Jesus Christ," the Englishman Ken Russell will present a screen adaptation of D. H. Lawrence's "Rainbow," the Frenchman Jacques Duane, his psychological drama "The Fifteen-Year-Old Girl," the Brazilian Ector Babenko (whose ancestors emigrated from the Ukraine) shot his film "Thistle" in the United State. This film takes place during the "great depression" of the 1930s, and its actors include stars of the rank of Meryl Streep and Jack Nicholson.

Moreover this is not the sole American film in the competitive program. The other is a melodrama (or as they say in Hollywood "a dramatic comedy") titled "The Accidental Tourist" and directed by Lawrence Kasdan. There will also be two pictures by famous Polish directors—"Property Right" by Krzysztof Zanussi and "Lava" by Tadeusz Konwinski, a screen adaptation of the famous poem by Adam Mickiewicz.

Because it is permitted to show more than one film from a given country, while at the same time the number of competitors has been limited, the films of several nations are not represented in the official program. In this situation it is difficult to avoid bad feelings of all sorts. But competition is competition. Furthermore, this is not the only way to participate in the festival: an extensive showing of famous films from the international film repertory, winners of prizes at European and other film festivals will be shown in the Concert Hall of the Hotel Rossiya. Space will be found for showing films by young film industries or made by young filmmakers, which are not part of the competition.

But to return to the competitors. They have turned out to be relatively varied both in the geographic sense—there are films from Italy and Finland, Japan and China, Argentina and Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Iran,

GDR and FRG. The cinematography of South Korea is participating in the festival for the first time, with the film "rise." Several films from Israel will be shown outside of the competition.

Well, and what pictures will represent Soviet film? There will be only one in the competition, a film called "The Museum Visitor," directed by the Leningrad director Konstantin Lopushanskiy. The action of the film takes place in a fantastic future after the human race has lived through an ecological catastrophe. However, many of the most frightening aspects of the reality recreated on the screen do not seem all that fantastic. The problem of ecology and survival, so upsetting people today are associated in Lopushanskiy primarily with their moral and spiritual state. This young director has attained an international reputation as a result of his previous film "Dead Man's Letter." And now here is this new work, the premiere of which will be held at the Moscow festival. At this same festival, there will be noncompetitive showings of other new Soviet films. This will accord with the interests and expectations of many foreign guests, who wish to see actual evidence of perestroika in our culture.

Speaking of the festival, we cannot ignore such events as the celebration of the hundredth birthday of Charlie Chaplin and the 70th anniversary of Soviet film, the retrospective showing of the work of the outstanding Spanish director Luis Bunuel, and another retrospective entitled "Russian Literature and Culture in the Films of the World." The British film "Testimony" on Dmitriy Shostakovich, the screen versions of "Doctor Zhivago," "The Master and Margarita," and "Anna Karenina," made by famous artists abroad will be shown.

As was the case 2 years ago, there will be a Professional Filmmakers' Club, this time in the building of the recently completed Film Center on Krasnyy Presne. This club will be the scene of artistic discussions, and an atmosphere conducive to informal communication among the filmmakers of different countries will be created. An international symposium of film critics on "The Film of Totalitarian Epochs" will be held under the auspices of the Professional Club.

The Moscow festival, as is appropriate to our new social climate, will also undergo perestroika, and will seek a new face for itself. It would be naive to suppose that this year all the shortcomings will be eliminated and an unheard of artistic improvement will be attained. There are not that many truly significant films in the world and getting them to Moscow is no simple matter: the competition from other festivals is very great. We lack a functioning film marketplace, modern service for our guests, and many other conditions for conducting a high class festival. And yet the efforts undertaken will not be in vain. They have been directed toward eliminating the luster of formalism from the festival's meetings and programs once and for all, toward showing films that are interesting to Muscovites and foreign film society.

The publicity services of the festival, which have always been the subject of justified complaints, must be improved qualitatively. The director Bardin has created a symbolic cartoon to precede the films of the festival and the sculptor Berlin has designed the model for the new prizes. Representative of film lovers' clubs throughout the country will take an active part in the festival.

Thus, on 7 July, Moscow will await its guests from the film world. The highly qualified international jury has been virtually established under the chair of the foremost Polish director Andrzej Vaydy. We can expect the excitement and joy of friendly meetings and communication with art.

**Study Of Turkmen Literary Criticism Praised**  
*18350023b Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI*  
*in Turkmen 12 Mar 89 p 2*

[Article by A. Orazov, candidate of philological sciences:  
"The Need Is Felt Today"]

[Text] When discussing Professor and Doctor of Philological Sciences Jora Allakov's text for students and teachers in philology faculties at higher schools, "The History of Turkmen Literary Criticism" (Magaryf, 1988), one must note at first that it is a necessary book which was presented rather belatedly to its readers. Up to this time there has been no basic scientific work written on the history of Turkmen literary criticism. Twenty years have gone by since the appearance of the book "The Creation And Development Of Critical Thought In Turkmenistan" by our literary scholars A. Kekilov, R. Rejebov and K. Jumayev. Unfortunately, J. Allakov forgot to mention this book in his own text. This book, which was published in a tirage of only 2,500 copies, is rarely found in libraries. Also, it concludes by tracing the development of Turkmen critical thought only through the years of the Great Patriotic War.

J. Allakov's book not only includes the literary criticism of the 1980s, it also provides a creative portrait of some prominent Turkmen critics. The book makes it possible to trace the entire history of Turkmen literary criticism, and is a basic work in this field. It provides a basis for saying that students and teachers at higher schools, and the broad reading masses have received a text which provides full and systematic information on the history of literary criticism.

The importance of the book is not limited by this. Its fundamental value is that it treats the history of the creation, growth and perfecting of all of Turkmen literature as a continuous process on a scientific basis. As is known, literary criticism occurs, develops and generalizes its experience as an inseparable component of the growth of the literary process and, in its turn, influences the growth of the literary process. Examined from this

point of view, J. Allakov's book makes it possible to follow not only the history of Turkmen literary criticism, but also the history of Turkmen Soviet literary history as a whole.

The creation and perfecting of Turkmen Soviet literature took place under extremely complex circumstances. The revolutionary changes which took place in the life of society also exerted its own influence on the literary process and placed new duties before it. This situation caused the party to implement some organizational-theoretical measures in the literary sphere. Thus, it is clear that the first steps of Turkmen literary criticism were directly related to the policies implemented by the party in the literary sphere.

Certainly, examined from today's point of view, it is also possible that events, certain individuals and their positions would have to be evaluated differently. First, we have to say that the book was written and published before perestroika took on a wide scope, and that much time went by before the book reached its readership. Thus, it is obvious that the author did not have that possibility to reevaluate historical facts and circumstances. Second, approaching historical facts in a new way does not mean that his approach to history is weak. To say that historical facts must be evaluated from today's position is not to say that one should place the historical conditions of that time on an equal level with today's conditions. When reexamining historical conditions from today's position, one must primarily consider the historical conditions of that time.

Despite that fact that Leninist principles were distorted in the course of socialist construction, that some mistakes and excesses were permitted and that all these as a whole had an impact on the literary process and, it goes without saying, on the situation of literary criticism, we cannot deny the existence of class conflicts in the society of the 1920s and 1930s which, in their turn, exerted their own influence on the literary process. It would be incorrect to claim that Turkmen literature was created or could have been created without any kind of conflict. Moreover, there are grounds to say that all Turkmen writers were not equal in terms of social origin, their level of knowledge and worldview as well as in their creativity and lifestyles.

Let us look at the literary heritage at that time. In our opinion, looking at it from today's positions, the issue of justifying the "single stream" theory which emerged in the 1920s and 1930s should not be examined from that time's position, but from the theory of the possibilities of that time. We must especially emphasize that some nihilistic views towards the literary heritage expressed by critics like O. Tachnazarov and G. Sakhedov who supported the party leadership in the literary front were not a consequence of their repudiating the heritage of the

past completely. They adjusted the literary heritage under the conditions of the class struggle of that time according to the extent it would be able to serve someone's interests.

Stressing this concept, the critic N. Khojageldiyev wrote in his article "Fiery Fighter" about O. Tachnazarov: "Fiery revolutionaries of this period like Oraz Tachnazarov and Gurban Sakhedov were certainly not unaware of the Leninist view towards cultural heritage. But it is impossible to pose this question under the sharp class struggle of that time from today's theory. They had to be very circumspect. They had to be flexible in implementing party policy in accordance with the demands of that time. It is clear that paying excessive attention to the cultural heritage would give no positive result in those times. A relentless struggle for the cultural heritage was going on at that time. The views of people at that time even toward the works of the great Magtymguly were not the same. Everyone was trying to use the cultural heritage in order to further their own interests." (SOVIET EDEBIYATY No 5, May 79). One of the virtues of the text is its wealth of facts and materials.

While the book is rich in facts, its basic goal is to reveal the characteristics specific to the time or a critic's works. When reading the chapters in the book, one finds it possible to discern the basic tendencies special to the literary process and literary criticism of every period. Thus, in the creative portraits of A. Kerimov, A. Myradov, O. Abdyllyayev, Kh. Tangryberdiyev, N. Khojageldiyev and S. Myradov the fundamental characteristics special to their literary criticism are revealed.

As we noted above, J. Allakov's text is a first effort in a massive job. It is only natural that it contains shortcomings. Without discussing them in detail, we should draw attention to some principle elements.

A significant part of the book is devoted to a survey of the periods of Turkmen literary criticism. In the section devoted to each period a generalized assessment is provided for the literary process in that period and the situation in literary criticism, and basic tendencies are illuminated. Despite this, one feels a certain disconnectedness in some chapters. Some times the author goes into too much detail. There are instances when he discusses articles and studies which lack any great importance in the history of literary criticism. In chapters surveying articles and studies of the critics for whom special creative portraits are provided they are discussed again. Thus, the author did not have to repeat earlier discussions in the creative portraits.

In a study by Candidate of Philological Sciences N. Gullayev "Discussing A Literary Text" (EDEBIYAT VE SUNGAT, 11 November 1988) he wrote about the book: "The criteria used by the author in selecting the critics for whom literary portraits are given are not very clear. If he only planned to discuss dead prominent critics, N. Khojageldiyev is still alive and well. If only the most

important literary specialists connected with literary criticism are taken, in that case the services to our literary criticism of candidates of philological sciences Durdymukhammet Nurallyev, Allamyrat Garayev and Shamukhammet Khalmukhammedov are no less important than those of the late Saylav Myradov or Nargylych Khojageldiyev. If membership or nonmembership in the USSR Writers Union of those selected was considered, then only three of the names mentioned above are members of that distinguished union."

N. Gullayev has the correct idea. It would have been better if the number of critics whose portraits had been the subjects of special study had been increased. It may be that it is not J. Allakov's fault because it is no secret that there is a stinginess with regard to space allocation at publishing houses. In discussing criteria for selecting critics for creative portraits, we must say that the text should not only have selected dead critics and that when the book was submitted to the publisher both S. Myradov and O. Abdyllyayev were alive. The fact that the chapter "Literary Criticism In The 1980s" is concluded in 1985 confirms this. This does not imply that critics whose literary portraits should be studied are not included in the text, nor that critics whose creative portraits are included are not worthy of this honor.

We have to say that the text's tirage is extremely small. The fact is that the book will not be republished this year or next year. The three thousand copies of the text have been sold out. That means that there is a need for the book today and it will be stronger in the future. Thus, we must be concerned with its republication beginning now. If this is done, it will make it possible for the author to correct existing shortcomings in the book and increase the number of creative portraits in it.

### **Neglect of Turkmen Historical Monuments 'Unwritten Law'**

18350020g

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 1 March 1989 carries on page 4 a 2,400 word article by Sakhet Ovezberdiyev headlined "Carelessness" on the status of the preservation of ancient historical monuments. He lists decrees issued by the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers in 1977, 1983, 1984 and 1988 pertaining to various medieval architectural complexes and states: "We must stress that the Turkmen SSR law 'On the Preservation and Exploitation of Historical and Cultural Monuments' is being neglected. Article 9 of this law states precisely that 'Isolkoms of oblast, city, rayon, village and settlement soviets of peoples deputies guarantee the preservation of historical and cultural monuments situated on their territories. Noncompliance with requirements of this state law has turned into an unwritten law.'" He asks that stronger penalties be assessed against violators.

### **Letters Support More Attention to Turkmen Language**

18350023c Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 7 Mar 89 p 3

[Thirty four letters to the editor: "Our Suggestions"]

[Text] The article published in our newspaper by Academician Pygam Azymov "We Must Strengthen Attention To The Turkmen Language" received wide approval by our readers. The responses coming to our editors and the heartfelt suggestions on developing the Turkmen language, perfecting it and improving the study of Russian are proof of this. In this issue of our newspaper we submit to our readers lines from these letters.

D. Mukhamov, Turkmen language and literature teacher at the No 3 secondary school in Danev Rayon: If the rule on stressing and not stressing long vowels were removed from the Turkmen language program and the long vowels were marked, it would be easier for readers.

We must also create the same possibilities which have been created for Russian language teachers in Turkmen schools for those teaching Turkmen in Russian language schools.

We must call for a third linguistic conference in order to resolve the very serious problems in the Turkmen language.

Ch. Khommadov, student: We work for Turkmen and Russian language knowledge among those working with the masses.

G. Nuryyeva, director of Kaka Rayon methodological office: Serious articles have been published in the newspaper on writing the names of administrations, streets and stations in correct Turkmen. We must see the results of these articles. We must establish olympiades in the Turkmen language for students.

A. Gurbanov, student at Turkmen State University: We must publish textbooks in Turkmen for students in higher schools.

A. Durdyev, language and literature teacher at the No 56 eight year school in Ashkhabad Rayon: We must strive for the deep study of Turkmen together with Russian at higher and specialized secondary schools.

Kh. Nazarov, senior teacher at the No 24 secondary school in Krasnovodsk Rayon: We must also introduce Turkmen into the republic's Kazakh and Uzbek schools. We must begin operating Turkmen circles in every administration, organization and factory.



N. Amanov, Turkmen language and literature teacher at the No 25 secondary school in Ashkhabad city: We must not permit those who have studied Russian up to the eighth and ninth grade to transfer to a Turkmen school. I do not think they have respect for the Turkmen language.

N. Khudaynazarov, chief bookkeeper at the No 4 rayon school of the Karakum Canal administration: We must begin teaching Turkmen at the kindergarden level. In order to do this we must strengthen kindergardens with educators who know Turkmen and Russian well. We must strive for their teaching according to special methodological programs.

M. Rejebov, Murcha village in Bakherden Rayon: It is the duty of each of us as citizens to know our mother tongue.

Kh. Khaytjanov, teacher at the No 46 secondary school in Koneurgench Rayon: If a specialized journal on all problems involved in the teaching and study of Turkmen were to be published, it would be good.

O. Ojarova, Murgap Rayon: Programs teaching Russian and Turkmen must be broadcast regularly. It is impossible for someone not knowing his own language well to learn it well.

B. Melayev, director of the Yylanly Rayon young technologists station: We must consider Turkmen to be the state language in Turkmenistan. In whatever rayon and kolkhoz there are many representatives of another nationality, there two languages must be introduced. At the same time, we should not weaken the study of Russian which is the means of international communications among peoples.

A. Verdiyeva and O. Shykhyeva, senior teachers in the Turkmen language faculty at the M. Gorkiy Turkmen State University: In our opinion, if the Turkmen language were to be introduced in the Russian schools from the first to the last grades, if Turkmen were to be introduced into the curriculum of higher schools as a special subject and tests or examinations in it were to be given at the end of every semester, if interfaculty circles for Turkmen lessons were to be started, if study aids for those learning Turkmen were to be published, if Turkmen language courses were to be started in our republic's educational institutions and if entrance examinations in Turkmen language and literature were required, it would all help the harmonious development of bilingualism in our republic.

J. Kerimov, journalist: There are more than a few Russians and representatives of other nationalities in Chardzhou city who wish to study Turkmen as well as those who would like to study their own mother tongue deeply. Unfortunately, up to now, courses teaching Turkmen have not been started in the oblast center.

A. Bayramnazarov, Gumdag settlement: I fully support the issues raised in Academician Pygam Azymov's article on the need to learn two languages—Turkmen and Russian.

A. Akbabayev, methodologist-teacher at the No 17 G. Sakhetmyradov secondary school in Murgap Rayon: Up to the present time, the national languages of a number of fraternal republics have been declared the state languages of those republics. Guided by this, if our Turkmen language were also to be declared the state language, it would create positive conditions for its overall development and its flourishing.

O. Materov, teacher at the No 15 secondary school in Murgap Rayon: A Russian language day is being held in secondary schools; we must also permit the holding of a day for the Turkmen language in the Russian schools.

B. Tayyrov, foreman at the Pobeda kolkhoz in Khokhambaz Rayon: We must strengthen attention to Turkmen also in rural areas. Language and literature teachers, cadres for ideological work in party raykoms, factory chairmen and rayon newspapers must pay more attention to developing the Turkmen language.

T. Ashyrova, student at the No 46 secondary school in Tagta Rayon: Classes for youths going to higher schools from villages must basically be held in Turkmen because once they have mastered their higher school program they will return to the villages.

O. Mammedorazova, Bayramaly city: More Turkmen language programs must be given on Turkmen television.

A. Khatamov, teacher at the No 22 secondary school in Murgap Rayon: We must increase Turkmen literature classes in the 9th and 10th grades of Russian schools. In this context, we must publish a good textbook. We should put a grade for this subject on the diplomas of Russian school graduates.

A. Jumayev, director of the young naturalists station in Bayramaly city: We have to hold meetings in villages and rayons in Turkmen. We must attract people who know Russian and Turkmen well to give information in the railroad stations, bus stations, and airports of our republic.

A. Allaverdiyev, Bokurdak settlement in Ashkhabad Rayon: Rural children do not know Russian well. They do not understand the cartoons on the Turkmen television program "For You, Children." When this program is aired, we must consider the wishes of rural children and translate the cartoons into Turkmen.

Ya. Durdyev, student in the No 5 secondary school in Ashkhabad city: We should write the names of products produced in our republic in both Turkmen and Russian. If speakers on Turkmen television and radio said "Assalamaleikumi" instead of "Salam!" it would be better.

Ya. Shamiyev, pensioner: We often use sentences like "We must eliminate consequences of the earthquake" in newspapers and on radio and television. This sentence sounds like it has been translated from another language; personally, I find it inappropriate because, in the final analysis, the consequences are destroyed villages and cities and dead or injured people. We should examine the context where our words are translated, its meaning and the language characteristics of the people and use that because it would be better.

K. Orazov, agronomist at the republic project-planning chemicalization station: Language and its writing is the wealth of the people. If the national language and its written culture is developed, the people's literacy, level of understanding and culture will flourish. Thus, we must develop Turkmen in an allaround manner.

Sh. Khudaynazarov, deputy chairman of the Kerki Rayon department of the Soviet Culture Fund: Wherever there is no concept or subject in Turkmen, we must accept the word for that concept or subject in the other languages into our language. This will lead to an increase in the enrichment of our mother tongue and national brilliance.

The time has come to call a linguistic congress because the times have changed. There have been many changes in the alphabet, orthography and pronunciation. For example, the need to change the alphabet has emerged.

We must reexamine the letters and sounds in the Turkmen alphabet. We must eliminate the [Cyrillic] compound graphemes ya, yo, yu and ye. In general, we are in favor of reducing the graphemes instead of increasing them because we can express "ya, yo, yu and ye" by using the "y-" which exists in our alphabet. There is also no need for the voiceless graphemes (the soft sign and hard sign).

Kh. Kadyrov, D. Annanurov and A. Gurbanmyradov from Tutlugala village in the Pobeda sovkhoz in Cyzylarbat Rayon: A person who has no respect for the sacred traditions, culture and, above all, language of his own people has no respect for any other people. There are many such people in our republic.

A. Odegurbanov, Nebitdag city: Later is better than never. We must quickly correct the mistakes which have been allowed in Turkmen so that every Turkmen child knows the language as well as Russian.

O. Khebbikgulyyeva, Turkmen language and literature teacher at the No 2 secondary school in Sayat Rayon: We must make educational films for teaching Turkmen.

V. Charyyev, Bakherden Rayon: Learning Turkmen must always be an obligation, not a campaign.

A. Vepayev, Kerki Rayon: Those who develop and cherish their own language must strongly condemn those accused of nationalism.

Ya. Melayev, worker: We must completely replace the many words alien to the Turkmen language.

S. Babayev, student: We must start Turkmen language courses at educational institutions. If possible, Turkmen forms of new words should be found and accepted.

**Investigators Gdlyan, Ivanov Interviewed**  
*18001373 Riga SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH*  
*in Russian 20 Jun 89 p 3*

[Interview with T. Gdlyan, USSR Procuracy senior investigator for especially important cases, and N. Ivanov, investigator for especially important cases, by Tatyana Kolgushkina, SOVETSKAYA MOLODEZH special correspondent: "The Phenomenon of Honor"; date and place not given]

[Text] I was trying to get some clarification. After every newspaper "salvo" doubts would arise: Why are they silent? What could they say in response? By the beginning of the Congress of People's Deputies so many questions had accumulated, that I could not hold back—I started to seek a meeting. But I always heard the same thing from his intermediaries: Gdlyan does not give interviews...

And here I am at last at the USSR Procuracy. But today Gdlyan and Ivanov are not available to me: on the first workday after the Congress it was urgently necessary to determine their work status. Our conversation took place on the following day. But on the eve of our meeting I, along with thousands of other people who had gathered at Luzhniki in Moscow, heard a speech by Telman Gdlyan at a deputy meeting. Shrugging his shoulders, one of my former classmates at the MGU journalism department and now a correspondent on a central newspaper, skeptically declared, "It's suicide!" At that point I had not yet made any determinations. They came up later, when I had at last managed to ask the questions that were troubling me.

[Correspondent] Nikolay Veniaminovich, is the aureole of your investigative group truly so unusual? Or has everything been embellished by my colleagues in the press, as is the custom?

[Ivanov] We cannot avoid going into the background story. In 1983 we received a case from the Committee for State Security—a very local case, concerning Bukhara Oblast. At that time eight people were arrested, mostly representatives of the Internal Affairs Administration of Bukhara Oblast Ispolkom. From the very beginning the leadership was oriented toward quickly investigating and sending the case to court, without going beyond the bounds of the sphere of activity of those militia officials.

But we soon understood that we had run into an altogether different phenomenon here—massive corruption. The threads stretched to Tashkent, and to the Uzbek MVD. And it was for this reason that the scheme which our General Prosecutor and his deputy Soroka had designed for us did not pan out. Ordinarily the practice of localizing cases is encouraged. But here it was obvious that these militia officials, as well as Gorpromtorg [city industrial trade] Director Kudratov could not have

flouted the law for so long if they had not had powerful support in the person of party obkom First Secretary Karimov. And this was known to many people, who had been keeping mum.

From experience in investigating major cases, we knew that the little men would always answer. And the investigation, as a rule, went not up but down.

In the 1960's and 70's there was a certain stereotype for investigations. It was associated with the firmly established principle of "dual legality," which was religiously observed by all law-enforcement organizations as well. The principle of this pattern consisted of the fact that a person of a certain level and rank could in general never be brought to criminal liability, no matter what kind of evidence had been gathered against them. And if by force of some reason or other he was made liable, this was not the rule but an exception.

From the point of view of the law, formally, once a person, even a lowly one, had committed a crime, that means he must answer for it—all proper. But once we had run into a massive situation of bribery, here political decisions were required. Because to bring many thousands, even hundreds of thousands of people to criminal liability, is practically impossible.

[Correspondent] In other words, it's as if bribery had become a way of life for these people?..

[Ivanov] No doubt about it. And it is not only in Uzbekistan that such situations exist. Entire regions have been stricken with corruption: above all, the Caucasus—although the sums and turnover there are much lower. These are the regions of Central Asia; this is the entire South; the four North Caucasus republics: Stavropolskiy Kray, Krasnodarskiy Kray; a significant part of the Ukraine, closer to the sea; and the central oblasts of Russia look very bad. The situation is more favorable in Siberia, in the Urals, in the regions of the Far North, and in Belorussia; and I would also include the Baltic Littoral. It's hard to explain what this is associated with. There is probably an entire complex of reasons here. Apparently both the common culture and tradition have an influence.

In a word, we saw that we were simply incapable of bringing an enormous number of people to criminal liability. And if we were to follow that path, it would delight the Mafia: we would go below and would as a result leave the organizers of the crime standing on the sidelines. It was hard for us to breach this situation; it was hard to work out a definite conception. Of course it is troubling, after all, when you can see that a person is clearly committing a crime, but in Uzbekistan all means of resolving conflicts are connected with "I gave—I took." Moreover, they become well acquainted with the fact that all Moscow commissions, as they call them, arrive; fill their pockets; and depart.

The degree of resistance at the first stage was very significant as a whole, and with the pool of witnesses as well. Therefore, at first we made a number of "errors," when we brought to justice a number of mid-level persons, who were subsequently found guilty. According to the law, everything was proper. But later, when we stepped back to take a look, we saw that—the organizers were evading responsibility. Then we took a different tack. We took a firm line of absolving the enormous mass of bribe-givers of criminal liability.

[Correspondent] That means that you not only released those who voluntarily reported of giving bribes, as the law allows, but everyone who gave bribes at all? But what if a person tells about this when faced with irrefutable evidence from the investigation?

[Ivanov] We have, of course, had situations in which we summoned a person and suggested that he tell us everything he knows about the condition or situation of interest to us. And then that person, in the course of the conversation, makes a statement to the fact that he had given bribes to so-and-so and such-and-such. Here one has to nevertheless be more flexible and look upon things sensibly and soberly. Formally, although a person has been summoned to the investigator and we know that he is a bribe-giver, from the point of view of his subjective perception, he is telling us about everything voluntarily, and he is making a confession.

[Correspondent] In other words, as I understood you, you believe that a person is not guilty in that he lives under such conditions, and that these conditions constantly place him in a situation which force him to give bribes?

[Ivanov] Of course. These are all victims of the situation, of the system that has taken shape. And it would be simply immoral to bring these people to criminal liability.

In the course of the investigation, proof began to appear of bribe-taking by Bukhara Party Obkom First Secretary Karimov, and Uzbekistan Minister of Internal Affairs Ergashev.

[Correspondent] But how did you manage to gain the understanding of the leadership?

[Ivanov] Of course, we fought, that Karimov be brought to justice. At that time it was very difficult. Andropov had died, and our renowned Chernenko had come to power. And here it was a question of a party obkom first secretary. Such people had never before been brought to criminal liability, and of course, a mass of difficulties arose. He was a deputy of the Supreme Soviet and a member of the Uzbek CP Central Committee, and at

the same time he was deputy minister of land reclamation and water resources in the republic. The leadership, naturally, took this course with great reluctance. And nevertheless, Chernenko gave his consent to indict Karimov.

[Correspondent] How do you explain the assertions which appeared recently in the central press, that Gdlyan and Ivanov's group did not disdain from arresting the close relatives of the accused, even children?

[Ivanov] Here's what's curious. They write, they arrested children; but no one cares to find out how old those "juveniles" are. And as a rule they were—30, 40, 50... And here is why we had to resort to such measures. Our militiamen, having confessed, and knowing that compensation for the damage which was caused is according to the law a mitigating factor in their guilt, write to their relatives: give yourselves up. We often made a practice of using a video recording of an appeal by the accused. And if the relatives and intimates did not consent to give up? Then we would detain them, and at times we would arrest them for covering up. It is noted that the "poor" relatives of Karimov were arrested; but it does not say that as a result, they were deprived of valuables amounting to a sum of almost six million rubles. Any person with common sense can judge for himself whether he acted justifiably or not.

[Correspondent] And have there been complaints about the actions of the investigative group from the very beginning?

[Ivanov] Just as with any investigation. Complaints always come from persons with an interest in the case. And they have all been carefully checked out by the prosecutors and have been found baseless. And very rarely there have been assertions that we ourselves had allegedly received something.

[Correspondent] And nevertheless your honor has not been called into question?

[Ivanov] From the very beginning we have followed a policy that the group would be clean. If only the slightest doubt had appeared... And the group has gradually grown. We started out, you see, with three. At that time I was not yet an official of the central apparatus, but simply an investigator in an investigative group; from the very beginning, however, I have been Gdlyan's deputy. Of course, all sorts of situations sprang up. And people have gradually come to see what we are like.

[Correspondent] And how did other investigative groups like yours operate?

[Ivanov] I'll tell you about another example from Uzbekistan. A cotton scam had been broken. In general, you see, here in Moscow they too knew full well that a scam was going on, because the disconnect was obvious: there was a lot of cotton, but the mills were idle. As far as I know this was also a topic of a certain amount of



disagreement between Kosygin and Rashidov in their time. But nevertheless even Kosygin was incapable of untangling that knot. And you see, these conflicting situations, including the one with Rashidov, as our "clients" affirm, brought about the fact that Kosygin left the scene before his time.

And so, here we are faced with a situation in which the law-enforcement system took the classic course: the safe one, from one point of view; on the other hand, one which demonstrated that a struggle was going on. People from Rashidov's entourage came to power in the republic, as a rule, from the triangle: First Secretary Usmankhodzhayev was president of the republic under Rashidov; Rashidov brought Second Secretary Osetrov to his post while he was still alive; and the chairman of the council of ministers was also his. And the very same account-padding came along.

To this day, the 16th Plenum of the Uzbek CP Central Committee stands as the point of reckoning in the republic. It was led by Ligachev. Other representatives of the CPSU Central Committee came here as well: Mogilnichenko, and Smirnov—who at that time was responsible for looking after Uzbekistan and four other republics of Central Asia. An attempt was made to proceed in party fashion: Well, you have certain shortcomings here; you see, under Rashidov not everything was quite right; now things will be fine. In actual fact, no one from the higher echelon was touched; the tendency was to purge the lower ranks, and thereby give an account. Therefore, at that time several Union Procuracy investigatory groups were created, which engaged in investigation of theft and account-padding.

[Correspondent] Then had your group appeared before?

[Ivanov] Yes, under Andropov yet. And against Rashidov's will. Andropov was able to force them to work. Later, KGB officials would suffer for their adherence to principle, and justice has not been restored to this day.

Thus, you see, in 1984 new groups were formed for struggle with theft and account-padding. And at the same time, local law-enforcement organs naturally came to their assistance. Throughout the republic a mass of criminal cases were brought against kolkhoz chairmen, brigade leaders, classifiers, cotton receivers and so on. An entire staff was even set up under the aegis of the USSR Procuracy, which was to coordinate the cases. But in fact a mass of cases proceeded independently. Therefore it was not beneficial to concentrate all together—the trend would immediately be seen at the party apparat. After all, distorted figures for cotton were almost of a directive nature. It is very important to stress this fact. And once padded figures appear, dirty money appears as well. And further on things proceed according to all the laws of political economics—redistribution.

And so they began to bring the little people to liability. But the kolkhoz chairman immediately points the finger at the party raykom first secretary; and the latter at his party obkom. These threads were clipped above. As a consequence Cotton Industry Minister Usmanov, his deputies, and a number of directors of cotton mills were brought to liability. The investigation was completed, and they reported: Here are the guilty parties in the cotton affair—the managers...

[Correspondent] Telman Khorenovich, I've already heard twice in Moscow, the first time in January, that Gdlyan and Ivanov had been arrested. The rumors were not confirmed: the entire country heard your sharp questions from the rostrum of the Congress of People's Deputies and heard how they were turned by those to whom they were addressed, from concrete answers. And here and now, both of you have actually found yourselves not on the case. How do you explain the unpleasantness of recent months?

[Gdlyan] The resonance continues since the speech at the 19th Party Conference. The case to which we've given six years of our lives is coming apart day by day. Constant stumbling blocks, interruptions in investigative actions... And the result? With the case of Churbanov... You are aware of the kind of illegal decision that was taken with respect to the organizers of corruption in the Uzbekistan MVD system. But why did they conclude it so hastily, right on 30 December, just before the new year? We were expecting that at the start of the year we would be going on to make new arrests, to bring Moscow, Central Committee bribe-takers to justice; and we had to stop. Out of 500 witnesses, 180 were barely questioned; out of an enormous amount of video recordings, where the most important investigative action had been recorded, they played only a portion, fragments. And in early January we were no longer able to set about realizing our plans, as we intended. Because to put it crudely, we were sold out from within, and they knew about our plans—so you get nowhere...

[Correspondent] But can you solve this riddle about Yakhyaev? About what Olga Chaykovskaya writes in LITGAZETA, about six portfolios on a criminal case, that were allegedly concealed from justice...

[Gdlyan] It's hard to explain it here in brief. These six portfolios contained materials on misuse of official position of various kinds and character, which in and of themselves had fallen by that time under a number of amnesties. Grounds were needed, and they were found. Now pay attention: Judge Marov returns the criminal case for further investigation, apparently in order to, so to speak, "pile it on" and altogether properly punish according to the limits of the law. But all these are unimportant episodes. At the very same time the judge halts the case on the fact of bribery, although bribery is a more severe offense. And so just what is there to investigate further? Here everything is interconnected; and he, as a specialist, understood full well what he was doing.

He was counting on the new Fundamentals of Criminal Law, which would provide the possibility in the future of altogether avoiding responsibility, because there a term of 10 years is stipulated. Marov could not set Yakhyayev free right away—that would have sounded too odious. But here is the kind of chicanery that he let loose in essence...

The chain of the collapse of the case and the compromise of the investigation goes on. Court officials and journalists speak out very impetuously, zealously; and they all harp on the same point: what a poor investigation; what unprofessional types—and on and on. Then they drag the case of Khint out of the archives, because it looks very pretty: a doctor of sciences, laureate of the Lenin Prize, and an old, sick man. And well, after Khint they can train their sights on an active case—the soil has been prepared for public opinion.

And when the "material" has accumulated, when they managed to collapse the case by around 50 percent, then there is still a Central Committee commission and its decision; and then the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet; and a solid, turbid stream in the press...

[Correspondent] I learned from journalists that over a month ago the central publications were forbidden to print any interview with you...

[Gdlyan] It was even earlier, in my opinion.

[Correspondent] In that case I am surprised by a certain kind of duplicity on the part of Yuriy Feofanov in IZVESTIYA, which offers you an interview, and he himself knows, evidently, that nothing will be published...

[Gdlyan] Feofanov acted dishonestly when he brought up specific facts from a conversation which we had about eight months before. But you understand, that hundreds of journalists come here and call us up, including foreign correspondents; but we cannot, nor are we in general obligated to meet every offer half-way. Our principal work is—investigation. We simply, physically, have no time. And so, when pressed he recalled a private conversation we had at one time; and they made him a proposal. Then Buturlin comes out with an interview, and once again: we are prepared to meet. And two days later a telegram comes with the same request, but that very same day they print material in the newspaper. How can they at the same time sign to press an issue of IZVESTIYA on one day, with such a report, and send a government telegram to Gdlyan? And when could I manage to send a reply? Although I handed over an article that same evening, it is still sitting there to this day. And, I assure you, it will not be printed. The game goes on...

[Kolgushkino] And the topic?

[Gdlyan] The article was on the Khint case, but I wrote there that I reserve the right to speak out on the case of corruption on the part of leading officials, both in Uzbekistan and in Moscow. I based it on the fact that once you have spoken out twice—both on Khint, and on this corruption case—that means I will also speak out twice, and then—fine; we can arrange a debate.

[Correspondent] But according to PRAVDA you refused to take part in the discussion, precisely because it was a "round table"?

[Gdlyan] Nikolay Veniaminovich and I explained to PRAVDA the reason for our refusal. After all, we did not send members of our investigative group; we came ourselves. Why then should we have a dialogue with third-rank people? You must invite the first persons, under whose leadership the case fell to pieces, so that there would be a dialogue among equals.

Now we are eager to speak out, because the only method there is to bring the truth to the people is—to make use of the mass information media. But we find no support anywhere, neither on radio, nor on television, nor in the newspapers. Therefore we cannot cite conclusive proofs on the basis of documents which refute the dirt that was written about the investigative group and the case which it conducted.

[Correspondent] In my opinion this is unprecedented: you are the first to allow journalists so deeply into the course of an investigation...

[Gdlyan] That's not quite so. It has happened before us. But our only novelty is to once again show the democratic and legal method of conducting a criminal case—that is when we allowed journalists access to the investigative isolation ward, and said: come in and ask any question. It was the first time the press had received such an original, from our point of view—and that of the press as well—form of work, as direct communication with the accused. And today, after they have been polished up, they are dumping dirt all over us with the help of KGB and procuracy officials.

It was a cry from the soul—both in PRAVDA and in other publications—when they would tell the journalists what they were guilty of, and about their connections with highly-placed Moscow bribe-takers. Today those same people have made a 180 degree turn. Why? I have never seen a single accused person who ever wanted to go to prison. Everyone, wishing to somehow reduce his term or get out of a criminal case, makes maximum use of any opportunity. And they were given them, right on a tray. And so we have no complaint against them in general. They can be understood on purely human terms. But if officials of the law-enforcement organs are playing these dirty games on instructions of party leaders, then they are the accused in the final analysis...

Here is just one very finicky question: Where did the millions go? How to explain it? Have they been found? Excuse me—here sits the beggar Ivanov; he has become confused, muddled: just where on earth can I buy a suit? Since I have now been made a deputy, money has appeared. He cannot wear his second-best suit, because this is a dress-up affair, and this one is already shabby. And then we confiscate over 100 suits from a raykom secretary—105 or 106 it seems. How can a normal Soviet man explain this fact? I am not even talking about an equal number of pairs of shoes and so on. I am not even taking into account two million in gold and cash, which we confiscated from him. And 100 cows. This is all beyond the bounds of indignation. And so, where have the millions gone?

[Correspondent] Telman Khorenovich, your group is being incriminated, that the case is being returned for further investigation because of the fact your case was built entirely on the "queen of evidence," the confessions of the accused. And if the accused does not acknowledge his guilt in court, they can find no other evidence at all. Just how fair is this?

[Gdlyan] It is fundamentally unjust. The "queen of evidence" was long ago placed on the judicial throne by Terebilov and his entourage (But only via the back steps, like Raykin. Under Vyshinskiy, it entered via the main entrance.) Courts, including the Supreme Court, accept the confession of the accused as basic evidence. If he acknowledges his guilt—they punish him; if he does not—in the best case they send the case back for further investigation; in the worst case, they would in general acquit. But as far as our investigation is concerned, it, fortunately is built on many other proofs. But they do not want to take notice of them, when it is very necessary to someone up high.

[Correspondent] Incidentally, what about Terebilov? At the Congress Vice President Lukyanov inadvertently stated that Gdlyan had made a request—and Terebilov did not get a seat on the Supreme Court...

[Gdlyan] Yes, I made a phone call, and informed long ago that he falls under our case as a bribe-taker, and that a careful investigation must be conducted. I called Chebrikov also, but this did not have any affect. But when in connection with a party commission I was invited to Pugo's office, where there were representatives of all the law-enforcement organs in the country, I was forced to publicly state: "Comrades, what are we talking about here? How can he decide the case of Khint, when he himself is part of our case? This is revenge on his part." And inasmuch as this information was inadvertently disclosed, Terebilov was removed. But the protest which he brought against Khint remained! And finally, the most unbelievable and inexplicable question: those same judges, as early as 1985, had spoken out on the very same grounds...on the guilt of Khint and his accomplices. And now, in 1989, on the basis of those same facts, they have unanimously rehabilitated him.

[Correspondent] Here you are, such champions of justice. Forgive me for being direct, but what do you need—most of all?

[Gdlyan] And I have a question for you: You at least have understood that we are losing everything and are getting nothing in return, have you not? Then tell me please, why are these irresponsible journalists accusing us of what we cannot be accused of?

[Correspondent] I am sometimes embarrassed that journalism is called the second-oldest profession. And nevertheless, it is a fact: journalists are also easily bought and sold...

[Gdlyan] By the way, journalists too were part of our case, and the sums were very large. And so your brother was also down in the mud: just like our brother... Well, so that you understand what we were guided by for all those six years, I'll give an example. We had one multi-millionaire, from whom about six million were taken—Kudratov, the director of the Bukhara Gorpromtorg, who held out for the entire duration of the investigation, insisting on his innocence. However, there was irrefutable evidence, and as a consequence he was sentenced to be shot. And you see, at one of his interrogations, Kudratov says, "You can be a millionaire—just help me out..." And I, assuming we have a frank conversation, read him an hour-long lecture on morality. Yes. On the moral values of a man... And I said, "Kudratov, sometime before you depart for the other world—and we are all mortal—you will understand that there are servants of the state, and there are communists in the party who would never sell themselves, not for any number of millions." And you are the first one I have said this to...

[Correspondent] And did it really have an effect?

[Gdlyan] None! He apparently thought that I had not said much. Look, judge for yourself, why we did this. After all there were millions lying about... Yesterday at the meeting I received a note. After all that time—this is the first: "If you, Gdlyan, are an honest party member, then tell me how many millions were put aside for you, and how much you divided up with Ivanov and with your friends..." I read it, and flung at my wife... How can it be so! People, who have fought for an idea, for certain principles... And all the same, until now there have been no notes such as this, you understand. And so, this is a reflection of a part of public opinion, the turbid wave in the mass information media has left its mark...

We were simply proceeding from the elementary fact, that if we want to preserve the system, those moral values and the way of life which we call Soviet in the best sense of the word, principles of social justice and legality—then we cannot go on living like this. Some one has to stand up and be the first to call for struggle with that dangerous force, which is called "organized Mafioso crime in the country."

[Correspondent] Your colleagues say that you and Ivanov are all alone in this struggle...

[Gdlyan] Our names come up most of all. But that does not reflect the true situation, because even if we were Solomon, we would achieve nothing by ourselves. And you know from published information, that there were more than 200 people in the [investigative] group; we brought in people from all over the country. And it was frequently emphasized, that the investigative group is made up of officials from the procuracy, the Committee for State Security, the MVD, and the military procuracy. So, why are we being accused?...

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I will not foist my own conclusions on the readers. Let them think and ponder on it for themselves. I will only say: Gdlyan and Ivanov are not alone. If only because of the hundreds of telegrams addressed to them which arrived while the Congress was in session—with support, and warm words. They gave me permission to see them.

"...It's easy to drown out a microphone. It's harder to drown out a people. We support you—The voters." (Kaluga.) "We support you; we approve of your activity... After the election of the commission on the affair of Gdlyan and Ivanov, we stopped believing in the Congress, in Gorbachev, and in perestroika—A group of instructors at Kindergarten No 60 from Vologda." "We demand that first the activity of those people be checked, whom Gdlyan and Ivanov have accused—By authority of the workers and employees of the Pirometr Plant in Leningrad, Ye. Yepishina"...

"It's a shame," he concluded, my former classmate, in saying goodbye after the meeting in Luzhniki. "The entire foreign press will be writing about this meeting, and at best I'll be able to publish three lines..."

And it seemed to me that he envied our newspaper.

#### **Jewish Population Distribution Figures In Regions Of USSR Given**

18001277 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA  
in Russian 8 Jun 89 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "You Ask, We Answer" rubric: "Population Distribution Of The Jewish People"]

[Text] I am interested in the population distribution of people of Jewish nationality. Could SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA provide the data, say, for the past 150 to 200 years?

[Signed] A. Smolyar, Gomel.

**The editors can fulfill the reader's request with the help of Doctor of History V. Kabuzan. In an interview, he gave the following answer to this question.**

In 1800, more than 80 percent of the Jewish population lived in Europe, primarily on territory that is now part of the USSR. There were almost no people of Jewish nationality in America prior to the mid-19th century.

As a result of the migration of people of Jewish nationality to Israel, which was formed in 1948 on the territory of Palestine, the number of Jews living in Asia as a percentage of the total number of Jews in the world is rapidly growing: In 1939, 5.5 percent of all Jews lived in Asia, while the figure for 1979 was 25.7 percent. All told, some 1,780,000 people resettled in Israel from 1948 to 1983.

The number of Jews living in the territory of the USSR as a percentage of the total world Jewish population grew up until 1917, after which it began gradually declining. While the figure was 42.5 percent in 1900-1917, it had fallen to 28.3 percent in 1939, and to 13.1 percent in 1979. The Jewish population of our country declined over the same period (6.1 million in 1917, 4.8 million in 1939, and 1.8 million in 1979).

One of the reasons for this is that, beginning in 1920, ethnic assimilation processes intensified among the Jewish population, facilitated by the mass spread of atheism among them and by increasingly common mixed marriages; their declining numbers were also due to the migration of Jews from our country.

The Jewish population of the USSR was further reduced by the mass genocide of the Jews during World War II, when their numbers fell from 4.8 million people (1939) to 2.3 million (1959).

From 1960 to 1980, as a result of intensified assimilation processes and declining indices for natural growth, the number of Jews fell to 1.8 million people. Another reason for this was the migrations of people of Jewish nationality abroad: From 1920 to 1975, approximately 343,000 Jews emigrated from the territory of the USSR to America; 24,000 people left our country for Israel in 1948-1977 (from 1948 to the present, a total of nearly 300,000 Jews have emigrated from our country).

There are more than 3.5 million people of Jewish nationality in Israel today, and 5,920,000 in America (the total number of Jews in the world is estimated at 14 million).



**Number and Location of the Jewish Population on USSR Territory**

Republics, Regions	1917	1939	1979
UkSSR	3,537,000	2,526,600	634,000
BSSR	1,372,300	571,900	135,000
Baltic Region	661,300	391,800	48,000
RSFSR	143,700	948,000	701,000
Kazakhstan	9,300	19,000	35,000
Central Asia	18,500	61,000	115,000
Caucasus	98,000	83,000	63,000
MSSR	246,900	207,000	80,000
Total	6,087,000	4,808,300	1,811,000
% of European Jewish Population	53.9	46.8	57.5
% of World Jewish Population	42.5	28.3	13.1

**Armenian Komsomol First Secretary Interviewed**

18001382 Yerevan KOMSOMOLETS in Russian  
24 Jun 89 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Armenian Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary Granush Akopyan by AVANGARD correspondent, 21 Jun 1989: "Not By Means of Man But For Man"]

[Text] [AVANGARD] Comrade Akopyan, for about two weeks the whole country—all mankind—closely watched the USSR Congress of People's Deputies in Moscow. How would you characterize this event in our life?

[Akopyan] During those days we were eyewitnesses to and participants in truly revolutionary times and events. There is just one conclusion: We are laying the cornerstone of political reform in this country. This historic Congress has no precedent in terms of glasnost, democracy, and pluralism. It is gratifying to note that our people's deputies today are not simply raising their hands, as they were before, but are working out policies and representing the will and aspirations of their constituents in the country's highest organ of authority.

Delegates to the Congress in the auditorium, and all of us at our television sets, went through a big school of political maturity and parliamentarianism. As one of the speakers said very aptly, it was as if the whole country went on a "sit-down strike" during the days of the Congress. The foreign press noted with undoubted astonishment that genuine parliamentarianism was stated in the Land of the Soviets for the first time since Lenin. The debates, the pluralism of opinions, and the dramatic, passionate tension demonstrated graphically that democracy and glasnost still face considerable resistance on the part of reactionary forces. But this should never be an excuse to advance conciliatory palliatives and sometimes even decisions that are in conflict with democracy. Before making any important decision,

every deputy must have a profound sense of the seriousness of his responsibility to his people and his constituents. In this regard, the deputies from our republics acquitted themselves very well, and the speech by Armenian Communist Party Central Committee First Secretary Comrade S. Arutyunyan at the Congress was a profound, well thought-out, integral expression of the people's cherished hopes and will, of what the Armenian people have been fighting for for over a year now. I am certain that every one of us experienced a moment of joy, pride, calm, and hope as we listened to the speeches of Comrade Arutyunyan, our other deputies, and delegates from NKAO [Nagornyy-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast]. To expect that the Congress can resolve all the issues of concern to us would be at best naive. But I have no doubt that a start has been made and that our people's elected representatives will work hard to resolve the Artsakh problem and other issues, with well-considered and thought-out steps, without excessive emotionality, via constitutional, democratic means, and will achieve the desired result.

[AVANGARD] Many of our readers frequently, sometimes reproachfully, write that the Komsomol has yet to state its own position clearly and precisely in regard to the Artsakh Movement and the people's demands.

[Akopyan] I am, to say the least, astonished at such a formulation of the issue. Is there a single man or organization in all of Armenia whose position in regard to the Artsakh problem and how to resolve it could be anything other than a just and final resolution of the problem? Let me say that the Armenian Komsomol's position on this matter has always been unequivocal, not counting the confusion in early February. That was not out of any desire to reject the idea; rather, it stemmed from a lack of experience in holding dialogues with broad segments of the people. The Komsomol organization's position in support of the Artsakh problem and in sharp condemnation of the Sumgait carnage and distortions in the media, is set forth in my speech at the 15 June 1988 session of

the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, also in November at the Fourth Komsomol Central Committee Plenum in Moscow, and at numerous conferences on the nationality question in the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee. We have also stated our position in our instructions to Armenak Kirakosyan, the USSR People's Deputy from the All-Union Komsomol; these instructions deal with everything that concerns and bothers our young people, the whole Armenian people, today: Restoring the rayons that suffered from the earthquake as quickly as possible, finding a political solution to the NKAO problem, making the necessary political assessment of the genocide in Sumgait, and securing the immediate release of the arrested leaders of the Karabakh Movement. As for our links to the NKAO Komsomol Obkom, I should like to say that for 70 years we were not in contact with them or cooperated on any issue. Today, however, there is not a single trend or sphere of endeavors in which we do not take account of Karabakh in drawing up plans. All of our affairs have been written or spoken about. I do not wish to repeat myself. All of this must be continued with the same scope and force, for that is what justice, history, and reason demand.

[AVANGARD] Let us be frank. Like everywhere else, the Komsomol in Armenia has lost its authority, and despite its mass character and broad coverage, it does not enjoy popularity—in fact, it does not serve its basic purpose and calling when it merely plays the role of an appendage of the party or some organization within it. And it seems to me that this is the result, in particular, of its lack of independence. Today, all the country's young people are seeking ways to restore the authority of the Komsomol and make it into a genuine youth organization.

[Akopyan] During a certain historical interval of time—the early 70s and the 1980s—the Komsomol began to manifest negative tendencies; its living links with the primary organizations and its membership, all representatives of youth, became weak. Almost everywhere, real business began to be supplanted by paper shuffling, the entrenchment of formalism and impersonal, apathetic attitudes.

Perestroika has opened up the potential capabilities of young people and raised political activeness to unprecedented heights. Claims are being made that the Komsomol has outlived its usefulness. But every Komsomol member, after all, lived in this country during the years of Brezhnevian stagnation and naturally fell under the influence of the "machine press" that equalized and leveled out everything in society. That same young member even went so far as self-sacrifice, with slogans, mottoes, applause, and parades. Evidence of this is seen in the thousands of our young men who perished in the Afghan war. Administrative-command forms of leadership deformed and emasculated our organization as well, which seemed to forget that it is a Youth League with the right to be bold, advance, and make mistakes.

This is not a cause for individual people; it is the duty of every member of our organization—the duty to change, improve, to advance forward and have a sense of responsibility.

[AVANGARD] And what attempts have been made so far to enhance this authority? Which route, in your opinion, is the quickest and most effective?

[Akopyan] Attempts to enhance the organization's authority have been made and are being made. We have renounced administrative-command methods of leadership. We have totally broken down the entrenched notion that our authority is higher if the organization is more numerous.

In the past three years we have corrected all the false figures and inflated statistics that have been customary in this country, and we have altogether gotten rid of the concept of a "plan" for accepting members into the ranks of the Komsomol, a notion that prevailed for years. It is no secret—and this has been mentioned many times—that there have been instances of protectionism in the Komsomol. In order to get rid of this insidious phenomenon (in which people are not elected but appointed to an elective body), the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee Buro in June of 1987 considered the matter of nominating several candidates to one vacant slot and organizing secret elections; the appropriate decree was passed on this matter. One form of quickly getting rid of incompetent cadres was the method of certification [attestatsiya] and cadre replacement on a competitive basis. One of the most senseless and characteristic features of the years of stagnation was the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee nomenklatura, which covered all released cadres working in the Armenian Komsomol. The nomenklatura of the Buro and the Secretariat of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee has been streamlined or abolished; all we have retained are the secretaries of gorkoms and raykoms and officials of the Central Committee apparatus. Incidentally, we have reduced the number of officials in the apparatus of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee (they number 46 today), sector departments; a new subunit has been created—a headquarters for liquidating the consequences of the earthquake. Slots for "organizer of the All-Union Komsomol Central Committee" and "organizer of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee" have been established.

Steps are being taken in accordance with the USSR Council of Ministers Decree of 4 August 1988 concerning the matter of granting us economic independence. We are setting up scientific and cultural centers, clubs, associations on a cost-accounting basis, joint Komsomol enterprises, and cooperatives; we have been given excellent opportunities to cooperate with foreign organizations; and so on. To a large extent this is helping us to resolve on our own a great many problems relating to young people's everyday life, labor, and leisure.

There is one other rather urgent question today. Until now the Komsomol has not had a program. To eliminate this gap, we have deemed it advisable to work out a program for the activities of the republic's Komsomol enlisting all strata, groups, and associations of young people in the endeavor. Our goal is to create the kind of meaningful and effective program that can serve as a guide for the republic's Komsomol organization. You quite rightly pointed out our lack of independence. Yes, we have had to consult with higher-level organizations in resolving all issues. This has made it impossible for the Komsomol to achieve political maturity and organize itself quickly and correctly. At a certain period of time this program will serve as a guide for the Komsomol's activities, suggesting what to do, when, and how. A program is not a dogma, by any means, and it will not necessarily have to be revised, amended, and edited exclusively at scheduled Komsomol congresses. It will be perfected and amended in the course of dealing with the tasks set forth therein. It should cover a maximum period of 2 to 3 years in order to become a genuinely effective and flexible document. Moreover, the presence of programs, of specifically defined tasks, I am firmly convinced, should rally around the Komsomol those social organizations, groups, and associations that are acting in parallel with it today. Why? For the reasons mentioned above as well as the fact that the Komsomol is invested with the legal, political, and economic levers and capabilities—real and in place—that are so necessary to accomplish the tasks facing it.

The draft program will be submitted to all young people, the whole people, for discussion; all representatives of youth may take part in it. The opportunity to make suggestions and comments will be offered to everyone—that is, after approval, the Komsomol Program will become the program of each and every one of us, because it will have been worked out and amended on the basis of consideration of all opinions and proposals. We must ensure that young people themselves define their program rather than having it dictated from above.

[AVANGARD] As we stand at the threshold of the formulation of the new Komsomol Program today, I should like to ask you another question. The Komsomol deals with almost all issues, to a large extent duplicating party and governmental bodies in this regard. Wouldn't it be more effective if the Komsomol were to choose a narrow range of issues and stipulate this choice in the program to be drawn up?

[Akopyan] We could of course be more effective if we were to deal with a narrower range of tasks, which we could accomplish exclusively through our own efforts. But we will only be able to accomplish this when the appropriate organizations take upon themselves the task of dealing with the socioeconomic and everyday problems that are of concern to young people. Until that time we are simply obligated to deal with all problems of youth. A committee is to be set up in the Armenian SSR

Supreme Soviet to deal with youth problems. This committee will probably take responsibility, in accordance with legislation, for dealing with all the problems I have listed, and we will focus all our attention on the ideological-moral upbringing of youth, on matters of culture and physical education.

I submit that the draft Law on Youth that is now being discussed, and implementation of the new state policy on these matters, will largely facilitate accomplishment of these tasks, and the spheres of our activities will become quite definite.

[AVANGARD] What is your opinion of the informal youth organizations and their programs?

[Akopyan] We are ready to cooperate with everyone whose programs and forms of activity are not in conflict with our goals. In these associations there are many active people who are dedicated to their ideas, and we must not lose them. Their energies must be put to the service of our common goals. Such organizations can also collaborate actively with the Armenian Committee of Youth Organizations.

[AVANGARD] Unified requirements on everyone in this are involved—dialogue, consolidation...

[Akopyan] Yes, the "necessity," quote unquote, of this was noted recently on the television show "Reflection." Why do I put the word in quotes? Because it is more than a necessity; it has long since become a reality. Let us define the concept "dialogue" and its rules from the outset. **First:** The Armenian Komsomol Central Committee is an organ whose members work in a particular organization and are in everyday contact with their comrades, with the informals. Take Yerevan State University, for example. The secretary of its Komsomol committee is a member of the Central Committee—that is, one might say he is a representative of the Central Committee. And who are the members of the "Armenian Student Alliance" in daily contact with if not their secretary? That's dialogue. Hence, to say that the Central Committee is not concerned with them is untrue. I myself have met with them several times.

**Second:** A dialogue is more than just a conversation or a meeting around a round table. One can make a decision or answer their reasonable, legitimate questions even without meeting directly.

**Third:** For some reason, any expression of disagreement tends to be viewed as an attempt to quit the dialogue, to reject it. But the essence of a dialogue, after all, is to work out a general but by no means obligatorily unequivocal approach in a context of pluralism. Finally, this conversation, via the newspaper, is one variety of dialogue.

[AVANGARD] There are many informal youth organizations today, and each one has its own program, tasks, and followers. Won't this kind of variegation tend to

fragment forces? After all, we do not, unfortunately, have a lot of truly dedicated young representatives of the intelligentsia. Don't you think that they should be united within a single youth organization whose prime goal would be a national revival in the context of a variety of issues and forms of activities?

[Akopyan] No, I don't. The more there are of them, the greater the variety, the better. Because they can complement each other better. They are not, after all, in conflict with one another. And each one has, in addition to national tasks, a very clearly defined idea of some kind. And the main organizers of them are the best representatives of the intelligentsia. And I do not share your opinion that we have few young representatives of the intelligentsia.

[AVANGARD] What are the prime tasks of the Komsomol in the period prior to the adoption of the new program?

[Akopyan] The main concern is the proper use of young people's forces to liquidate the consequences of the earthquake. In this, we see basically five tasks.

**First:** consolidation of all young people's forces to liquidate the grave consequences of the earthquake. We have instituted sponsorship [shelstvo] of the construction of the villages of Getk (Akhuryan Rayon), Saramech (Spitak Rayon), and Lernapat (Gugark Rayon). These villages have been designed and will be built using the forces of the Republic Center for Esthetic Development and Scientific-Technical Economic Relations under the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee.

**Second:** maintenance of constant practical liaison with our countrymen outside Armenia, a task which is substantially facilitated by the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee's Poisk [Search] Information-Computer Center.

We have sent about 500 persons—writers, scientists, physicians, art collectives, and individual performers—to their temporary places of residence. This is all to ensure that they know that our countrymen have not been forgotten in their homeland. We are constantly concerned about the living conditions of more than 600 victims who have, from the very first days of the disaster, been housed in the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee's Youth Palace and Lastochka International Youth Camp.

**Third:** the organization of leisure for construction workers coming to us for help, in conjunction with the Ministry of Culture and the creative unions of Armenia.

**Fourth:** reestablishment of the Komsomol and Pioneer organizations in the disaster zone.

**Fifth:** work with children who have lost their parents. This encompasses all aspects of the matter—from moral support to the provision of definite material aid until they come of age. This is an initiative of the Komsomol organizations, and they are the ones which are developing it. Work is being done in collaboration with the Armenian Trade Union Council to organize summer vacations for children in the disaster zone.

[AVANGARD] In addition to current, urgent tasks, there are probably fundamental problems requiring long-term, painstaking work?

[Akopyan] Of course. After the September 1989 [as printed] Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum we made a fundamental review of the framework of our activities. One such sphere encompasses relations with our internal and external diaspora. Steps are already being taken to conclude agreements with many organizations of the Spyurk [diaspora]. At your suggestion we have undertaken to create a joint youth periodical publication of the motherland and the Armenian diaspora. There are plans to organize a festival of all progressive youth organizations. There are all kinds of plans and projects already in the process of implementation. And, as you have noted, everything I have listed constitutes specific practical measures that will facilitate the consolidation of healthy forces. The same thing can be said about the question of the internal Spyurk as well.

In short, work with the internal and external Spyurk, in the form of independent sections, will constitute part of our program and thus enhance the effectiveness of efforts undertaken along these lines. Young people today are very concerned about preserving the purity of the Armenian language, expanding the spheres of its use, studying the history of the Armenian people, eliminating blank spots in it (including the history of the Komsomol), preserving and restoring monuments of history and culture, the ecology, saving Lake Sevan, and much else. The Armenian Komsomol Central Committee has specific proposals and initiatives on all these matters; it has worked out a specific system of measures to implement them. Our moral duty, and an inseparable part of the effort, is constant concern and help for the aged, the disabled, and Armenian soldiers who served in Afghanistan. In this effort we are counting on the involvement and support of broad segments of young people as well as our scientific and creative intelligentsia.

[AVANGARD] What is your opinion about the new rubric in AVANGARD concerning the Armenian All-National Program?

[Akopyan] We can only welcome it. The creation of such a program today is an urgent necessity of the time. What is valuable is that a youth publication has undertaken this complicated and responsible and at the same time honorable cause. What is essential is to follow through, not to overlook a single valuable idea or proposal.



[AVANGARD] The preceding year and a half, as well as the USSR Congress of People's Deputies, make it imperative to accomplish the task of forming a genuinely national, people's Supreme Soviet and a corps of people's deputies so that issues can be resolved in the highest organ of the republic's government rather than at rallies.

[Akopyan] It would be wrong to claim that our Supreme Soviet fails to reflect the interests of the people and the nation. As for commitment and democracy, we are all learning that. So that time is doing what it must. It could not be otherwise. A major role is played in this by the mass media, which must make maximum effective use of their facilities to publicize the principled people who are dedicated and concerned for the nation's interests, people who have high intellectual abilities, so that the Supreme Soviet that is to be formed in the near future will also be in step with the times and express the genuine interests and aspirations of the people.

[AVANGARD] You mention the role and tasks of the mass media in the course of the elections. What overall tasks would you assign them?

[Akopyan] Above all it is essential to follow through. Not to stop halfway on any issue. The youth press today is not fully coping with the complicated and important tasks set before it. What is needed, again, is a consistent, firm position. AVANGARD, for example, has turned out a number of editions that are highly professional, but in addition there have been a number of editions which were, to put it mildly, failures. The newspaper can't seem to find its own stance, its fundamental theme, and sometimes is out of step with our turbulent times. Serious and effective measures are needed to materially enhance the authority and prestige of our press, which are forces of consolidation and organization of young people.

Another matter relating to the activities of the press. In extolling the journal GARUN and the newspaper PIONER KANCH, readers completely forget—curiously—that these are organs of the Armenian Komsomol Central Committee. When criticizing, on the other hand, they basically mention the Central Committee and consider it to be at fault. I think that the pages of certain periodical publications frequently lack pluralism, which has already become a reality of our life; they lack honest, immediate, healthy debates on a multitude of urgent problems of our life. The Armenian Komsomol Central Committee has frequently drawn the press's attention to this.

Our publications are not doing a good job of portraying the life of students, who constitute a large segment of young people; and student newspapers, to put it mildly, are not accomplishing their purpose. In consideration of this, as well as suggestions by informal student organizations, we have proposed the creation of a republic student newspaper based on VUZ newspapers that are being published.

[AVANGARD] You touched upon the matter of pluralism. I should also like to pursue this theme and expand its framework somewhat. We talk about pluralism today, but for some reason, during this time when the support of Stalin is viewed as a manifestation of pluralism, no one has undertaken to support the Karabakh Committee. Evidence of this is seen in the absence of positive articles about it. People's rule is becoming increasingly established in our life, but for some reason the people's demand that the interrupted session of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet be continued and completed on the eve of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies has been ignored. How do you view the concepts of people's rule, pluralism, and glasnost, and how do you explain, for example, the aforementioned distortions?

[Akopyan] Glasnost, pluralism, and democratization are the most cherished and important of our gains of April, and no one can take them away from us. These are all-encompassing ideas. Once glasnost has been proclaimed, there ought to be no forbidden zone. If there is to be people's rule, let it be complete. If there is to be pluralism, we ought not to fear sharp conflicts and debates.

Now with respect to specific formulations of the issues. Let me say this about the Karabakh committee. The fact that the press has not offered positive articles about it is a manifestation of the old thinking, stereotypes. While maintaining its ideological-political orientation, the press should not avoid pluralism (rather than mutual recriminations and settling of scores); it should not be afraid to present its own principles and convictions, to speak about them frankly, rather than going along with the practice of putting on different masks for different occasions, a practice which has always impeded our progress. Any opinion, regardless of whether it is acceptable to certain people or not, must be respected, listened to, and discussed. People must be oriented correctly, or else we will again get bogged down in the swamp from which we are just emerging.

About people's rule: Not a single decision, law, or directive should be adopted without concerned discussion with the broad masses of the people. The demand that the interrupted session be resumed in May was not met, in order to rule out the possibility of a step backward. As for the people's legitimate demand, it was discussed during that period, revised, and drawn up in the form of a platform of the people's deputies to the USSR, because what was most essential was for them to speak their piece at the highest forum of deputies. Their position was stated cogently prior to the Congress in Comrade Arutyunyan's answers to the correspondent from Armenpress.

[AVANGARD] You emphasized the necessity of pluralism in order to ensure society's progress. But don't you think that it is also time to provide for political, party pluralism, so that this progress may become established and irreversible?

[Akopyan] This is an opinion, a point of view, which, as I mentioned earlier, needs to be discussed seriously. It seems to me, however, that the idea of a multi-party system is not such an urgent one today, because the same path toward progress can be and is being effectively secured by the criticism and self-criticism that have become the norm in the party, factors which genuinely guarantee a creative atmosphere in the party and are becoming a vital force. And in both party and Komsomol work, in all spheres of human endeavor, we must be guided by the principle of Not By Means of Man But For Man.

[AVANGARD] In thanking you for this interview, I should note that many issues could not be accommodated within its limits. And I should like to convey to you our desire to meet more often in the pages of the newspaper.

[Akopyan] I am also in favor of meeting. We can set a date today for the next meeting. Let young people submit questions that concern them to the newspaper for me to answer.

#### **Workers Urged to Seek Alternative to Strike Action**

18300706 Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA  
in Russian 14 Jun 89 p 2

[Article by correspondent A. Gladilov: "You Work, and I Will Go on Strike..."]

[Text] At the end of the workday, the phone rang in the editorial office. A male voice demanded:

"Come quickly! We are declaring a strike..."

"What happened?"

"They are withholding payment for our brigade. Many of us live in private apartments, and they have nothing with which to settle accounts with the landlords. They are being evicted... Therefore, we are declaring..."

The next day I met with D. Asanaliyev's comprehensive brigade from the "Monolitproyektstroy" Association. This collective is constructing a dormitory for a polytechnical school. Silence reigned at the construction site. The crane was frozen. The entire brigade was sitting in its truck.

"So you are serious about this?"

"Entirely. We will not work until they give us our pay. We have still not received it for April..."

I thought: the people are fed up. The wages are only an occasion, there should be more serious reasons. After all, everyone knows that construction workers have enough problems. Material and technical supply lets them down, rush work upsets the collectives, and stoppages cost them a pretty penny. In the social area, construction workers

are done out of a great deal; there are not enough apartments, dormitories, or kindergartens. Moreover, they are not spoiled by high earnings.

However, the brigade shares its problem unwillingly. Yes, there was rush work—for 3 months they worked on the construction of a building in the railroad station rayon. There were also stoppages—in March, five acts were drawn up on this, and in May they stopped for 4 days due to a failure to deliver mortar. Material and technical supply let them down: there was no binding wire, they looked for it in heaps of scrap metal. And things really are difficult with housing. Many live in private apartments. Fourteen people from the brigade have received eviction declarations.

It seems, they would be accustomed to these difficulties and accept them as normal. However, they have still not succeeded in becoming accustomed to the withholding of wages here. The fact itself of the selection of this unusual form of protest, refusal to work, evoked surprise. After all, the brigade works on lease and pays for everything from its own pocket. A stoppage is expensive. If they fail to meet the commissioning date for the project, which is planned for the end of the year, they will have to pay a 6,000 ruble fine.

However, be that as it may, I decided to clarify the reason for withholding the wages. V. Goberkorn, chief of "Monolitproyektstroy" acknowledges:

"They have withheld wages. Not all the supervisors turned in their assignments. We are on lease now."

"It is a good delay—in June, people cannot get wages for April."

"That was defined in the contract, and the brigades know this: we receive wages 1 month late. Wages for April should be received on 27 May. Everything has been delayed for a week. Tomorrow we will pay out."

When I parted with the brigade, one of the construction workers asked:

"You should not write about us."

Perhaps I really should not? However, one recalls the recent event, in which the drivers of the Frunze Passenger Automotive Transportation Enterprise No 1 did not take their buses out on the line, thereby achieving the solution of many problems which had accumulated.

"Was there really no other way to make them listen to you?" I then asked V. Tatarenkov and S. Yeremin, drivers on route 9.

"There was not. None of the Goskomtransavtodor leaders came to our meetings. Our letter remained unanswered."

"So you decided on this extreme measure?"

"Really, we did not decide anything. Everything happened spontaneously. At the 15 May meeting, we did not think seriously about this. So, we just wanted to frighten..."

"How did it turn out?"

"Oh, what? They accepted all our demands and they are promising to solve the problems..."

"To frighten?"—this, perhaps is the most precise definition of the events which took place on the morning of 16 May. Except, is this seriously "frightening?"

Here, the construction workers' brigade took this method as a weapon. Who will guarantee that tomorrow they will not want to "frighten" society and higher agencies at other enterprises and organizations? There are problems, and very serious ones, in many labor collectives. So, let us all at once "frighten" as well... However, what about ourselves?

We frighten others, but, it seems, we ourselves are no longer afraid of much. We are not afraid of being late to work, we are not afraid of doing faulty work, we are not afraid of doing anything. We have selective courage...

All the "strikers" were unanimous in the opinion that their actions (it would be more correct to say inaction) were directed against the official bureaucratic apparatus of the departments. The writer, V. Dudintsev, whom no one would accuse of conservatism or reactionism in any way, defined his attitude toward strikes in our society as follows during an interview: "Just who suffers most of all as a result? Only the strikers themselves! Indeed, the state falls short a certain sum in the budget. Yet, later allocations will be made from this budget for kindergartens, housing, cultural buildings... As far as the minister is concerned, he has received, and will receive his own 'carp in sour cream'... So, I see no benefit whatsoever. I see only the political blindness of the strikers."

From the legal viewpoint, there are supposedly no questions: that not forbidden by law is permitted. However, the absence of corresponding articles in the Criminal Code does not at all signify permissiveness. After all, there are other legislative acts. For example, by accepting a collective contract, the collective is obliged to fulfill one job or another in the fixed period of time. To fulfill, not to cast the work aside suddenly, when someone takes it into his head.

Responsibility ought to be mutual. Meanwhile, claims are being made in one direction: from the collective to the administration.

There is a tremendous arsenal of means—legal—for the working people to struggle for their rights. There are also elected bodies, which ought to stand up for the interests

of the working people: the trade union organization, the labor collective council. It is another matter that these bodies are not working at full force, and that the legal literacy of these same drivers and construction workers, so to speak, leaves something to be desired...

Agreed, a legal way to struggle for one's rights or for a solution of one problem or another is often fairly complex, takes a great deal of time and effort, and does not always yield results. It is far simpler to declare a strike and sit peacefully and wait, to see what will come of it. Meanwhile, let others work.

Summarizing these conclusions, the question can be formulated as follows: who are you striking against, comrades? The question answers itself: against ourselves.

### **Kirghiz Women Urged to Practice Family Planning**

18300707 *Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA*  
in Russian 8 Jun 89 p 3

[Article by I. Borzykh, chief of the "Marriage and Family" Advice Bureau of the Kirghiz NH For Obstetrics and Pediatrics, candidate of medical sciences: "A Child Should Be Desired"]

[Text] About 140,000 children are born annually in Kirgizia, and 10,000 of them are premature, which means that they are weak and easily subject to illness. Infant mortality exceeds the Union-wide indicator by a factor of 1.5. There are several thousand mentally retarded children on the records of children's treatment institutions. Many of these were born from kinship marriages, which are widespread among certain nationalities residing in the republic.

Thirty percent of the female population of Kirgizia also often have many children. One-third of the women in Osh, Talas, and Naryn oblasts have anemia. Maternal mortality, i.e., the death of women during pregnancy, in childbirth, or in the postpartum period significantly exceeds the Union indicator and is observed, as a rule, among older (over 35 years) women with numerous children.

What is the problem? Why, from year to year, are we forced to revise the figures of this bitter statistic and, alas, not by reducing them? Probably because here in Kirgizia no tradition of sensible family planning has been formed. The scientific associates of the Kirghiz Scientific Research Institute for Obstetric and Pediatrics have done sociological research in individual rayons of Osh Oblast. In a survey of pregnant women, 43 percent of them responded that this pregnancy was not desired. They would sometimes have liked to abstain from the birth of another child. Of the women, 30.8 percent believe that 5 children is an ideal family size; 22.5 percent—6 children; 19.2 percent—4 children.

Thus, the basic segment of rural women do not at all crave to give birth to children, while the procreative function has not died down. Many of them would like to control this process. What is preventing them?

Perhaps the husband or their parents demand an unlimited number of children in the family, without consideration for the mother's state of health? This is possible. Or maybe the influence of Eastern traditions is making itself known in the noninterference with the process of childbirth? *MEDITSINSKAYA GAZETA* asked this question of the head mufti for Central Asia and Kazakhstan, who emphasized the expedience of a break of more than 2-3 years between children, which not only does not contradict the traditions of the shariat, but is one of its tenets.

One sometimes hears objections even from medical employees. They believe that if women would observe intervals of up to 3 years between births, the population's birthrate indicator, which is higher than the Union indicator by a factor of 2 today, would decline. Is it really just a matter of an indicator? Under the conditions of the absence of family planning, unwell mothers have frequent births and, correspondingly, give birth to an unhealthy generation. After giving birth to weakened children, sick women need special attention and comfortable home conditions. Yet, can a family with numerous children provide them?

The problem must also be viewed in other aspects—the sexual and psychological aspects. It is no secret that women with numerous children often establish the husbands' guilt of marital infidelity. This is explainable: a sick woman, worn out by endless pregnancies, rarely remains charming, desirable or interesting.

As you can see, "free drift" in family planning is not justified. What methods can one use to rid oneself of it and learn to sensibly regulate the number of one's offspring? Our physicians advise the use of contraceptives. The sector gynecologist will suggest precisely what kind. This year, we are purchasing a large quantity of hormonal pill contraceptives abroad. Some women are afraid of resorting to their use, fearing side effects and complications. This is needless: these methods have been carefully developed and their negative effect reduced virtually to naught. They are used by 60 million representatives of the weaker sex throughout the world. Moreover, there is a number of gynecological endocrine afflictions for which the use of hormonal pills even has a beneficial effect. There are also other methods for preventing an unwanted pregnancy, which one can learn about by consulting with a gynecologist.

If you do not want help at your place of residence, visit us at the "Marriage and Family" Advice Office (720045, Frunze, Bokonbayev Street, 102). There is an isolated

psychotherapeutic department here, where sex pathologists and a urologist/andrologist, equipped with hypnotherapy and procedural offices, receive patients. This is not just for women. They also offer assistance to men in solving intimate problems.

It would also be useful, it seems, to mention the anonymous advice office (telephone 26-64-10).

In short, it would realize the aspiration of spouses to have as many children as they can raise in good health and provide a proper upbringing for, and physicians can help to regulate the child-bearing process.

Unfortunately, women often look for our assistance, so to speak, after the fact, when they must rid themselves of a pregnancy that has already begun. We also help in this case, explaining that surgical interference is dangerous for women, above all, due to complications. This can be most carefully done in the early stages of pregnancy—up to 20 days. From 12 to 26 weeks, this interference carries the threat of serious trauma and therefore is practiced in exceptional cases, based on special evidence which a special commission examines.

Regardless of physicians' warnings, more than 70,000 women in the republic resort to this dangerous operation annually. But later... Later, many of them turn to us again with complaints of infertility, various inflammations, and sexual irregularities... We are trying to help, using modern equipment and methods. We use hypnosis, psychotherapy and sex therapy, acupuncture and massage.

We are striving to help men and women understand: we want to make your married life happier and the health of your future children better.

■ **Editors** ■ We have started a new rubric, "From a Competent Person," with this correspondence. In it, we would like to offer the advice of specialists in psychology, pedagogy, and medicine—people who can help you resolve a family conflict and, perhaps, also avoid it, and find the proper solution to difficult pedagogical situations, which in fact appear in interactions with children. Correspondence advice is available for you. We await your letters.

#### **Guidelines for Private Purchase of Home, Apartment**

*i8300702a Frunze SOVETSKAYA KIRGIZIYA  
in Russian 21 May 89 p 3*

[Interview with Ye.D. Sokolov, chief, Department of Housing and Municipal Economy, Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs: "On the Sale of Residential Homes and Apartments to Citizens as Personal Property"]

[Text] As already reported in the press, the Kirghiz SSR and Kirgizsoyprof have jointly approved the "Resolution on the Procedure for Sale to Citizens as Personal Property of



**Residential Homes and Apartments in the Buildings of the State and Public Housing Fund and on Payment for Expenses for their Maintenance and Repair." Ye.D. Sokolov, chief of the Department of Housing and Municipal Economy, Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers Administration of Affairs, discusses the particular features of this fundamentally important innovation and the content of this document, on the request of a KirTAG correspondent.**

[Sokolov] The resolution above all stipulates that the local soviets of people's deputies ispolkoms, enterprises, associations, organizations and institutions have the right to sell to citizens as private property residential homes and apartments, occupied by the citizens, in the buildings of the state and public housing fund, as well as unoccupied apartments in buildings that are subject to reconstruction or capital repairs.

Newly constructed residential homes and apartments can be sold as private property to citizens after their settlement in the established procedure.

In this regard, it should be noted that one family has the right to occupy only one apartment or individual home.

Citizens who are waiting for improved living conditions, above all, front-ranking production workers, participants in the Great Patriotic War, the families of deceased servicemen and persons equivalent to him, servicemen who have enlisted for additional service, ensigns, warrant officers and officers, people released into the reserve or retirement from active military service and from the internal affairs agencies due to age, state of health, or a reduction in staff, and other citizens who enjoy the right to first-priority receipt of housing, have the first-priority right to acquire unoccupied apartments in buildings that are undergoing reconstruction or capital repairs as personal property. Those who arrive from other regions of the country and have worked no less than 10 years in enterprises, associations, organizations and institutions located within the regions of the Far North and in local areas, equivalent to the Far North regions, are allowed to acquire unoccupied apartments in the buildings of the state and public housing fund in all settlements within the territory of the Kirghiz SSR, except the city of Frunze and resorts of Union-wide and republic significance.

[Correspondent] What is the specific procedure for the sale of apartments?

[Sokolov] The citizen submits a written declaration on the purchase of the home or apartment occupied by him in the buildings of the state or public housing fund, as well as for an unoccupied apartment in buildings which are undergoing reconstruction or major repairs, respectively to the ispolkom of the rayon (city, city rayon) soviet of people's deputies according to place of residence or to the administration of the enterprise, association, organization or institution, which manages the building.

The declaration should be signed by all adult members of the family living together, who have no objections to the acquisition of the home or apartment as personal property by one of the family members.

A copy from the housing book concerning the make-up of the family and the availability of an occupied residential premises, issued by the corresponding house management organization or enterprise, association, organization or institution, managing the house, is attached to the declaration.

I would like to direct attention to a specific feature of the registration of sale, specifically: for homes, belonging to the local soviets of people's deputies, the sale is made on the decision of the rayon (city) ispolkom of the soviet of people's deputies; for homes which belong to state enterprises, associations, organizations and institutions—by joint decision of the administration and the trade union committee of the enterprise, association, organization, or institution with the agreement of the labor collective council (if such exists); for homes which belong to public organizations—according to a joint decision by the body of the corresponding organization and its trade union committee.

The purchase-sale contract for homes and apartments is witnessed by notaries and registered in the ispolkoms of the rayon (city) soviets, and in rural areas are completed in written form and registered at the ispolkoms of rural (settlement) soviets.

[Correspondent] Does the resolution place any kind of restrictions on the acquisition of apartments?

[Sokolov] Yes, it was determined that the sale of homes and apartments is not permitted if a suit is brought against the tenant for the cancellation or change of the contract for rental of the residential premises or if the order is deemed invalid, if the building (residential premises) is threatened by collapse, or deemed dangerous or subject to demolition by decision of the ispolkom, or is transferred for state or public needs. This prohibition takes effect when the apartment is located in a hostel, as well as in other cases, as stipulated by the legislation.

Under all such circumstances, the purchase and sale of the home or apartment is deemed invalid in a legal procedure.

[Correspondent] The readers are probably interested in by whom and how the price is established for the residential premises being sold?

[Sokolov] This is truly an extraordinarily important question. Entirely understandably, it requires a particularly careful approach. The resolution stipulated that the sale price of homes and apartments belonging to local soviets is determined by assessment committees, which should include the deputy chairman of the ispolkom of

the rayon (city) soviet of people's deputies (the committee chairman), and representatives of the rayon (city) finance department, the rayon (city) housing management organization or municipal body, of the chief architect's department, and the purchaser. The cost of homes and apartments, belonging to enterprises, associations, organizations, and institutions, is assessed by a committee consisting of the head or his deputy (committee chairman), the chief bookkeeper, the deputy chairman of the trade union committee, representatives of the labor collective council and of the local finance body, and the purchaser.

Specialists from the technical inventory bureau can be recruited for such work.

The ispolkoms of rayons and city soviets of people's deputies, and of the enterprise, association, organization and institution have the right to establish within a range of up to 15 percent additional charges on the cost of homes and apartments, being sold to citizens as personal property, with consideration of the number of stories, improved quality of the finishing and equipment, as well as location in the most convenient residential areas.

In determining the cost of homes and apartments being sold with outbuildings and structures which improve the lots, as well as a percentage for the wear and tear of the structures and buildings, said technical inventory bureaus are used.

The sale price of a home or apartment is determined according to current standard assessments for state housing construction in accordance with the rules on the design, construction and cost assessment for cooperative homes and apartments, approved by the USSR Gosstroy's Gosgrazhdanstroy. The thus calculated cost of the home or apartment is reduced by the set percentage for wear and tear (amortization).

For buildings with standard layouts or duplicated designs (series 105, 106, 464, etc.), the cost of homes or apartments is determined centrally according to the regions in the republic in accordance with the cost per square meter of housing space and a correction coefficient for the converting prices, which are currently being developed by the KiSSR Gosstroy. Therefore, the sale of such homes and apartments will be carried out after their approval by the republic Gosstroy in the near future.

[Correspondent] How will homes and apartments built decades ago be assessed?

[Sokolov] The ispolkoms of rayon (city) soviets, enterprises, associations, organizations and institutions have been granted the right to determine the price of a home or apartment with a large percentage of wear and tear according to the balance cost minus wear and tear (amortization), taking a correction coefficient that determines the cost of the home or apartment at current prices into account.

[Correspondent] What is the procedure for payment by the citizens for the cost of the home or apartment being acquired? Are there privileges here?

[Sokolov] Payment for the cost of homes or apartments is made in monthly installments or within time periods established by the ispolkoms of local soviets, enterprises, associations, organizations and institutions, in the course of no more than 10 years, with an initial payment of no less than 50 percent of the cost of the home or apartment.

The ispolkoms, as well as enterprises, associations, organizations and institutions, have the right to grant privileges to multi-child and poor families, including by increasing the duration of payments for such families for the cost of homes and apartments to a period of up to 15 years from the day of official registration of the documents of sale and a reduction in the size of the initial payment to 30 percent of the set price.

Enterprises, organizations and institutions located in urban areas may sell their workers homes with outbuildings, erected at the expense of state capital investments, their own resources or bank credits, with payment by the workers depending on their labor attitude and length of work, and on the decision of the labor collective, of no less than 50 percent of the cost of the home with outbuildings and by equal monthly shares in the course of 25 years from the day of sale.

Sovkhozes and other enterprises and organizations located in rural areas may sell their workers homes with a garden lot and outbuildings, erected at the expense of state capital investments, the resources of farms, enterprises and organizations and bank credits, with payment by these workers of no less than 40 percent of the cost of the home with outbuildings in monthly equal shares in the course of 50 years from the day of sale.

When purchasing homes or apartments in installments, the purchasers deposit the initial payment from the set cost in state savings bank institutions and sign a promissory note for paying off the remaining sum within the set time period:

—for homes and apartments belonging to the local soviets and for departmental homes and apartments, built at the expense of state centralized capital investments, payments are made to the corresponding ispolkoms of rayon (city) soviets;

—for homes and apartments, built at the expense of the resources of enterprises, associations, organizations and institutions—to the corresponding enterprises, associations, organizations and institutions.

Given a violation of the set time periods for making payments, the ispolkoms of rayon (city) soviets of people's deputies and the enterprises, associations, organizations and institutions have the right to present a suit to the legal authorities to cancel the purchase-sale contracts for homes and apartments.

In the event of an employee's dismissal, his obligation to the enterprise, association, organization, or institution to pay off his indebtedness for the cost of the home or apartment completely remains in effect.

[Correspondent] How will the management, maintenance and repair of purchased homes and apartments be carried out?

[Sokolov] The management and repair of homes and apartments of individual owners is carried out at the expense of the owners of the homes and apartments, with mandatory observance of the standard rules and norms for the management and repair of homes and apartments in conditions, determined for homes of the state housing fund. Maintenance of homes and apartments can be done by state or cooperative housing management organizations on contracts with the owners of the homes and apartments.

Payment for the expenses of heating homes and apartments and providing electricity, gas, water and sewer is done by the owners of the homes and apartments according to the tariffs established for the state housing fund.

Funds received from selling homes and apartments, built at the expense of state centralized capital investments, as private property are assigned to the local budget for the development of the social sphere, and in buildings constructed at the expense of the funds of enterprises, associations and organizations—to their own social development funds. These funds are used for housing and municipal construction and the repair and reconstruction of housing.

#### **Alma-Ata Youth Fight Has Nationalistic Undertones**

18300702b Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 13 May 89 p 3

[Article: "Rumors and Reality: It Happened at Night..."]

[Text] What, you don't know? There was a fight in the park, people were killed...

This, or approximately this, was what our Alma-Ata readers, who called the editors immediately after the holidays, said. They even named the "precise" number of victims and damaged automobiles, and these figures grew every hour... What happened in reality? We turned to the Alma-Ata Gorispolkom UVD with this question.

A fight really did occur in the capital's Park for Culture and Relaxation imeni Gorkiy between two groups of youth at 21:25 on 7 May," the UVD reported to the press center. "Up to 120 people from both sides participated in the fight, armed with sticks and stones."

The fighters were dispersed by detachments of a patrol group, as well as by a detachment of the Frunze ROVD, sent to help them. However, some of them, a fairly significant share, did not react to the militia workers' warning and rushed to the dance area. There, they began pointlessly to beat up the celebrators. In response to this, having grouped together and armed themselves with benches broken up right then and there, the celebrators tried to drive the instigators out of the dance area, as well as out of the park. As a result, three participants in the fight and one militia worker suffered bodily harm of average seriousness. Two light automobiles belonging to private parties were also damaged.

Citizens B.V. Akhmedov and P.L. Aripov, who participated most actively in the fight and were, judging by everything, the leaders, were arrested by the militia detachments. The Frunzenskiy Rayon prosecutor's office is currently investigating this case.

**From the editors:** So, the rumors were clearly exaggerated. Nonetheless, an unusual event did happen. Although, it is probably still too early to speak of a "Kazan syndrome" in the Alma-Ata streets, the events that occurred deserve the most serious attention and study. Above all, we must state that there never has been proper order in the city's parks and dance areas. The militia workers know full well that in the summer almost every night the "clarification of relations" between groups of drunken youth are concluded here. Whereas the figure of a militia officer in the dance square is an ordinary phenomenon, the figure of a mass leader, Komsomol leader, or youth association heads or activists are never seen here. As a result, there is an atmosphere of rudeness, permissiveness and boorishness. Young people come here not in search of entertainment, but of "strong sensations," highly heated by alcohol beforehand... The militia is trying to maintain order, but can it do much alone?

There is another thing. During the fight, besides curses, shouts of a nationalistic bent were heard. This fact, it seems, ought to become the topic of serious discussion, above all for the city's Komsomol organizations. After all, these are our young people, be they good or bad. It is, at the very least, foolish to turn away from them, to not see what kind of life they live. On the contrary, we must do everything in order to involve them in social life and practical work. Then there will be fewer ugly events, like that which happened on 7 May.

#### **Mystery of Growing List of Kazakh Disappeared Persons** 18320022

[Editorial Report] Alma-Ata QAZAQ ADEBIYETI in Kazakh on 19 May, 1989 carries on pp 14-15 a 4500-word article by reporter Kommunar Tabeyev entitled

"You Are Not Saying They Vanished with out a Trace?" The article, written in response to the recent disappearances of four young women (the body of one was later found, mutilated), students at the Kazakh State University, explores in general terms the issue of missing persons in the Kazakh SSR and the USSR, a problem which is now apparently growing rapidly. According to Tabeyev last year 87,252 persons were reported as missing in the Soviet Union and only 69,835 were later found (figures for the Kazakh SSR are 4975 missing, 4088 found; for Alma-Ata 808 missing, 707 later found). Where have they gone, he asks, and how is it that authorities are so helpless in the face of such disappearances and so powerless to prevent them (In this connection he strongly blames university officials for failure to supervise their students adequately and to provide safe conditions, although Alma-Ata city officials are criticized too for poor street lighting, too few buses etc.). He concludes, however, that growing numbers of missing persons may only be a sign of the times, of the social change now going on in the Soviet Union. He thus calls for research, in addition to preventive measures and better police work. In the course of his article, Tabeyev documents a number of specific cases of missing persons and explores the circumstances of their disappearances. Although a connection with youth gangs ("unofficial associations") and other illegal connections is suggested, Tabeyev seems unwilling to consider that one or more sex maniacs may be loose (The pattern of disappearances of the four university girls, as sketched by Tabeyev, would seem to suggest a serial killer).

#### **Importance of Non-Local Cadres' Knowledge of Turkmen Stressed**

18350019b. Ashkhabad. SOVIET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen 28 Feb 89 p 4

[Article by Anagul Ashyrova, candidate of philosophical sciences: "A Question Which Must Be Examined"]

[Text] When reading Pygam Azymov's article "We Must Strengthen Attention To The Turkmen Language," we believe that readers are in agreement with the ideas expressed by the scholar. Certainly, such ideas on perfecting the teaching and study of the language of this or another people have been found for some time in the central press. There have been basic discussions on the sanctity of a sympathetic examination of the culture, art, language and traditions of national peoples, as well as on certain negative events which could lead to tendencies to denigrate them. The need to discuss openly in a time of glasnost these events which had been neglected during the years of stagnation and to resolve some questions by listening to the ideas of the majority has emerged. This is certainly the demand of the day.

At the end of last year there was a meeting between the leadership and members of the Higher Accreditation Commission at the Magtymguly Institute of Language and Literature of the TuSSR Academy of Sciences and linguists and literary scholars. Here, problems with

developing the linguistic and literary sciences of national peoples were discussed in depth, along with the difficulties confronted and ways of improving the methodology and work structure of learning them. Recently, one after the other, comrades have said that one of the basic reasons why so few dissertations on national language and literature have been defended is because dissertations written in the national language have to be translated into Russian and then submitted. Important proposals in this area were expressed. There was much discussion stressing the importance of every people's authorization to write and defend such dissertations in their own language.

There is good reason for this. In recent years the number of doctorate and candidate dissertations defended have declined significantly in comparison with years past. The same has happened in the publication of many scientific articles which experienced scholars have worked on for years and which are used for the development of young, literate cadres. The basic reason for this is that dissertations have to be defended in Russian.

And there is one thing that cannot be concealed. It is impossible to transfer to another language all complexities of the Turkmen language, its specific characteristics and national coloration. No one has been successful in translating into Russian the grammatical, morphological, semantic and stress complexities of Turkmen. It is probably impossible to translate into Russian the magnificent concepts of our classical and folk literature. The idea of a word by word translation of a dissertation only weakens scientific views.

There is more than a little concern over the translation of doctoral and candidate dissertations into Russian. Primarily, a scientific work is not a work of art; word by word translations are meaningless. There are either no scientific translator cadres who know both languages well, or at least very few. In this kind of situation, it is clear that it would be better if dissertations on Turkmen language and literature were to be defended in Turkmen. At a meeting which took place at the Turkmen SSR Academy of Sciences, Kazakh, Estonian, Latvian and Azerbaijani scholars also supported the writing and defense of dissertations on important questions of national language and literature in the national language. This being the case, we hope this important question will be correctly resolved.

Certainly, perfecting the study of Russian and Turkmen cannot be regulated by means of decrees and rules. We have to focus on every aspect of these questions and study the problems in depth. In order to do this, we have to perfect the training of teachers who will be teaching Turkmen and Russian literature.

P. Azymov correctly notes the weakening in recent years of the study of Turkmen in our republic's higher and secondary schools. This situation has brought about the fact that some youths and girls are unable to use the



Turkmen literary language or hold a conversation in the Turkmen spoken language. Is it not a sign of literacy to be able to speak in the literary language?! And another situation gives pause for thought: some people among us think that people who do not know Russian are illiterate. We have no business concealing the harmfulness of this situation.

The Russian language is our second mother tongue. We come into contact with world culture and science through this language. This language makes the peoples of the USSR our brothers. But there are also basic problems in studying this language. Primarily, we have to pay special attention to training the teacher cadres who will teach Russian language and literature. Especially, we must perfect the publishing of textbooks. If there were special concern for producing pocket-sized Russian phrasebooks and technical dictionaries it would be a good idea. We know that in some administrations, private courses for studying Turkmen have been started. We should start similar courses for learning Russian, especially in rural regions. If three-month or six-month courses for reading and writing Russian (even if one had to pay for them) were to be started up, students preparing for VUZ examinations and local specialists would enthusiastically take part in them. Special cooperatives could undertake this work.

The experience of Russian language and literature teachers has not been studied very much. We must hold school and VUZ olympiads often for Russian language students, and also competitions for artistic readings in Russian (not only for poetry, but also prose).

Oratory was a special study among the ancient Greeks. It is still studied as a special subject in some foreign countries. When some of our literate, cultured people speak, they do so with difficulty; succeeding in speaking the literary language well is an art, and it would not be bad if more attention were given to it.

P. Azymov correctly noted that representatives of Russian and other fraternal peoples who live in our republic should know Turkmen. It would be especially good if leading cadres knew the local language. As it is, even meetings where eighty to ninety percent of those present are of the local nationality are held in Russian. Sometimes, meetings concerning the rural population, sovkhozes and kolkhozes, or even meetings giving advice on language and literature are being held in Russian because of four or five people. In addition, the attitudes towards those coming from rural areas who are unable to speak Russian and cannot express themselves leave an unpleasant effect.

Surely we can find cadres who can use or have a competent knowledge of the two languages in taking telegrams or telephone calls. It is also true that films in Turkmen are rarely shown. We have every possibility of stepping up and improving the dubbing of films, but indifference is still being allowed.

### **Establishment of Public Opinion Center in Turkmen SSR Urged**

18350020e

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 23 March 1989 carries on page 3 a 1,100 word interview with O.B. Mukhammedberdiyev on the need for establishing a public opinion research center in Turkmenistan which would study "serious problems such as the brideprice, violating laws due to harmful remnants of the past and the persistence of ethnic stereotypes in the minds of the people" from the sociological point of view. He points out that "a similar center has been operating in Georgia under the Georgian CP Central Committee for a number of years and has turned into an effective support for perestroika." He adds that "regional sociology is very important. For example, that which may be characteristic for a neighboring republic is sometimes not characteristic for Turkmenistan." Among projects which such a center would examine would be attitudes towards "marrying underage girls, polygamy and preserving the gaytarma [ceremony to ensure defloriation]."

### **Uzbek KGB Official on Role of 'Radio Hooligans' in Fergana Crisis**

18300750 Tashkent KOMSOMOLETs UZBEKISTANA in Russian 24 Jun 89 p 1

[Article by V. Antonov, vice chairman of the Uzbek SSR KGB and a member of the republic's Interagency Commission for Combating Illegally Operated Radio Transmitters: "There Will Be Order in the Ether"]

[Text] Recently, the spreading of all kinds of rumors, which are completely unfounded and some of which have assumed an essentially provocative nature, has caused a certain uneasiness among the inhabitants of the republic.

In particular, fabrications have cropped up that there is supposedly an entire network of underground radio stations, which were involved in the events in Fergana Oblast, operating in the republic's territory.

Actually, during the last few days, the law enforcement agencies have identified a few dozen young people, who were using unregistered homemade radio transmitters, in other words, long-standing and notorious "radio hooligans". The overwhelming majority of their conversations amongst themselves were of a routine nature, for example, they made arrangements concerning the sites of upcoming meetings, compared notes on the weather, on mutual acquaintances, and, of course, on the Fergana events, which, very likely, gave rise to all sorts of fantasies about an "underground radio network of extremists".

The "radio hooligans" did not crop up yesterday, nor even a year ago. Some young people from the number of our "national skilled craftsmen" have had the ability to

construct attachments for domestic radio equipment, which allow them to broadcast in the medium wave-band. Their activities are not at all as harmless as they might appear at first glance. Despite the low power of their "equipment", they create serious interference in the ether and hinder the operation of radio equipment aboard aircraft, radar sites, and military and departmental radio stations. At times their meddling in the ether has caused in-flight emergencies, threatened air disasters with grave consequences, and infringed upon the radio communications between important national economic enterprises, which also could lead to serious accidents and major pecuniary damage.

A republic interagency commission for combating illegally operated radio transmitters subordinate to the Uzbek SSR Ministry of Communications is working to prevent such breaches of radio communications procedures. Along with communications specialists, representatives from public organizations and various departments and institutions as well as senior officials from law enforcement agencies and the Uzbek SSR KGB are members of the commission. This commission and its services are armed with the necessary technical systems, which allow for the timely exposure of illegally operated radio transmitters.

The actions of the radio hooligans were especially intolerable in the complex and tense situation that had arisen

in the Fergana valley—you see, they interfered with the operation of military radio stations and the communications systems between officials in the internal affairs and state security agencies. It was for this reason that the republic's interagency commission gave its undivided attention to discovering the violators as soon as possible, while the public prosecutor and internal affairs agencies concentrated on immediately confiscating the illegally operated radio equipment from them and instituting administrative proceedings against these "apologies for experts". During the period from 13 through 22 June, approximately 50 radio hooligans were identified in the territory of Fergana Oblast, 44 of them received official reprimands and their homemade radio equipment was confiscated. In this regard the following call signs vanished from the ether: "Shakhzody"—the call sign of Sh. Mavlonov, a 22-year-old worker at one of the cooperatives in Margilan; "Predsedatelya"—the call sign of A. N. Tashmamatov, a temporarily unemployed 20-year-old resident of Bagdad Rayon; "Yeshlika"—the call sign of A. Tychibayev, a 19-year-old Kokand resident, who is also unemployed; and "Firuzy"—the call sign of a 20-year-old Kokand resident. The activities of T. T. Akhmedov, a Fergana resident, K. K. Sabirov, a Margilan resident, and other radio hooligans have been halted. The effort to further suppress the activities of the "pirates of the ether" will be continued.

**Interrepublic Economic Ties Examined**  
18200437

[Editorial Report] Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian on 9 August 1989 publishes on page 12 a 1,800-word article by Candidate of Economic Sciences I. Pogosov entitled "Who Is Feeding Whom?". The article discusses the underlying economic tensions that are fueling "separatist" and "nationalistic" sentiment in several republics. By analyzing interrepublic trade balances and shares of national income produced, the author seeks to dispel the notion that certain republics are "feeding" others and argues for the importance of a unified national economy.

Pogosov notes that the debate over republic economic autonomy has prompted the argument that some republic economies benefit at the expense of others. However, the lack of statistical reporting, according to the author, makes this position difficult to maintain. For example, one measure of a republic's contribution to the national economy is its balance of trade. If interrepublic imports and exports are measured in domestic prices, then, according to the author, only Azerbaijan and Belorussia enjoy a favorable balance of trade. If, however, trade balances are calculated using world commodity prices, then only the RSFSR would enjoy a favorable balance of trade with the other republics. The Transcaucasian, Baltic and Belorussian interrepublic trade balances would suffer most if calculated in world prices.

Rejecting the notion that the balance of imports and exports is the sole indicator of whether a given republic is "living in debt," Pogosov turns to the share of national income being produced and consumed in various republics. According to his analysis, the Ukraine, Belorussia and the RSFSR produce a greater share of the national income than they consume, while the republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan benefit most from the redistribution of national income. He notes that while in the 1970's the Baltic republics produced a larger share of national income than they consumed, this is no longer the case, even though on a per capita basis Estonia produces the greatest proportion of national income. However, the author states that even national income is no basis for calculating "who owes how much to whom."

Pogosov concludes that "interrepublic redistribution of national income is essential for the stable, balanced development of the union republics." He points out that the amount of national income produced by a republic is largely determined by its available natural resources and climatic conditions, which lead to a certain amount of industrial and sectoral specialization. The author concedes that "there is a need to study deeply, improve, and correct a number of distortions in the existing intra-union division of labor and interrepublic economic ties," but warns that economic isolation "will ruin" the existing territorial structure and "will lead to a sharp drop in production efficiency."

**Strikers Urged to Hold Out Pending Talks**  
18001537 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 27 Jul 89 p 3

[Address by the Republic Council of Strike Committees to the Participants of the Political Strike]

[Text] The Republic Council of Strike Committees informs all work collectives and strike committees participating in the political strike under way since 24 July 1989 that it is essential for the strike to continue until the republic's leadership begins negotiating with representatives of the Republic Council of Strike Committees, the Estonian SSR United Council of Work Collectives, Intermovement of the Estonian SSR, the Republic Section of War Veterans, and the Armed Forces and soldier-internationalists.

It is suggested that strikes at enterprises cease when negotiations begin.

We call on work collectives and all workers to preserve order and discipline, to withstand provocations, and to strengthen the preservation of social order. Socio-political measures should be carried out exclusively within enterprises, not outside of their boundaries.

We hope that mutually acceptable decisions will be reached at the negotiating table.

[Signed] *On behalf of the Republic Council of Strike Committees*

*M. Lysenko  
V. Tsyunya*

**Interfront Proposes Changes to Draft Law on Election of LaSSR People's Deputies**

18001334 Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 4 Jul 89 p 2

[Proposals submitted by the Juridical and Ideological Commissions of Interfront to Draft Law on the Election of LaSSR People's Deputies: "Towards Democratization: Draft Legislation Discussed"]

[Text] A draft law entitled "On the Election of LaSSR People's Deputies" has been published in the republic press. On the basis of this bill, and after a careful analysis of the proposed text, the Juridical Commission and the Ideological Commission of the republic Council of the LaSSR International Front of the Workers ■IF■ propose a number of alterations.

Following are fundamentally new and substantive proposals by jurists and political experts of Interfront:

1. A more democratic procedure for selecting the chairman of the LaSSR Supreme Soviet, we believe, is through universal, direct, secret-ballot elections from several alternative candidates.

2. Legislative proposals made by the Union republic do not need to blindly follow Union precedents. The system of having supreme power vested in the Union presupposes essentially a two-step procedure for electing a federative parliament. We submit that there is no need for the cumbersome and relatively undemocratic system of having the highest organs of state power consist of the Congress of People's Deputies and the LaSSR Supreme Soviet. The needs as well as the historical traditions of our republic lend themselves more to direct elections to the LaSSR Supreme Soviet—a flexible and dynamic working body consisting of 96 people's deputies and a chairman of the Supreme Soviet.

3. The voting system of the republic should consist of 32 voting districts with three deputy mandates apiece, rather than 325 single-mandate districts.

(a) The 10-fold reduction in the number of voting districts is justified in terms of organization as well as economics. By taking as a basis the same number of voting districts as there are for the election of USSR people's deputies (32 national territorial districts), we considerably simplify the tasks involved in their formation. Moreover, a number of larger districts are more stable with respect to size. The proposed alternative ensures continuity with respect to Latvia's traditional system of administrative territorial subdivision, while being amenable to the election system, since the large-scale rural voting districts (and for purposes of voting the place of residence is, as a rule, also the place of work) coincide approximately with the boundaries of the former districts [uyezdy].

(b) The three-mandate system makes it possible to elect to the LaSSR Supreme Soviet not only the candidate for deputy who has amassed the greatest number of votes, but the two closest to him in terms of the number of votes received. Thus the interests of various groups of voters in the district will be represented in the parliament regardless of whether they are in the majority or minority.

4. LaSSR people's deputies may not simultaneously be in other soviets of people's deputies. This will help to prevent a concentration of power in the hands of a narrow circle of people and to ensure a broader participation of citizens in the work of soviet elective bodies.

5. The creation of special districts for military units of the USSR Armed Forces located on republic territory, allotting to them a fixed number of mandates, contradicts the principle of equality of the voting districts; it does not make it possible for military voters to obtain a full range of necessary information; and it opposes military personnel and the interests of the military to the interests of the republic's civilian population.

6. The LaSSR procurator and his deputies may be people's deputies since their supervisory functions do not represent a form of executive action by state organs

or a form of judicial authority under Article 11 of the draft law, which precludes people's deputies from concurrently holding high office in state executive or judicial bodies.

We offer below our edited version of articles in the law which contain the more basic proposed alterations. For purposes of comparison, the initial draft of the law submitted for discussion is presented together with with our alternative version.

#### **Article 2. General Election Law (paragraphs 2,3,4)**

[Initial draft] Any LaSSR citizen who has reached the age of 21 may be elected LaSSR people's deputy.

No LaSSR citizen may serve as deputy in more than two soviets of people's deputies concurrently.

Military servicemen in units of the USSR Armed Forces situated on LaSSR territory may elect deputies or be elected as deputies whether or not they are LaSSR citizens.

[Alternative] Any LaSSR citizen who has reached the age of 21, and who is a permanent resident of the LaSSR, may be elected LaSSR people's deputy.

No LaSSR citizen may serve as deputy concurrently in more than one Soviet of People's Deputies.

Military servicemen in units of the USSR Armed Forces situated on LaSSR territory shall enjoy equal voting rights with LaSSR citizens.

#### **[Initial draft] Article 11. Incompatibility of the Status of LaSSR People's Deputy With Holding an Official Position**

#### **[Alternative] Article 11. Impossibility of Combining the Status of LaSSR People's Deputy With Holding a High Office in State Legislative, Executive, or Judicial Bodies**

Persons who become members of the LaSSR Council of Ministers may not concurrently be LaSSR people's deputies with the exception of the following: the chairman of the LaSSR Council of Ministers; the chairman and members of the LaSSR Constitutional Oversight Committee; deputy ministers and state committee chairmen; managers of LaSSR departments and their deputies; and the chairman and members of the LaSSR Supreme Court.

Persons who become members of the LaSSR Council of Ministers may not concurrently be LaSSR people's deputies with the exception of the following: the chairman of the LaSSR Council of Ministers; deputy ministers and state committee chairmen; managers of LaSSR departments and their deputies; the chairman and members of the LaSSR Supreme Court; and the chief state arbitrator and LaSSR state arbitrators.



#### Article 15. Voting District Formation

[Initial draft] For the election of LaSSR people's deputies, 325 single-mandate voting districts shall be formed by the LaSSR Central Election Commission upon presentation by the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

For the election of LaSSR people's deputies from units of the USSR Armed Forces situated on LaSSR territory, single-mandate or multi-mandate voting districts shall be formed by the LaSSR Central Election Commission upon presentation by the district command headquarters.

One LaSSR People's Deputy shall be elected from each voting district.

Twelve people's deputies shall be elected from voting districts established for the election of LaSSR people's deputies from the USSR Armed Forces.

Lists of territorial voting districts, together with an indication of their boundaries and voting commission locations, shall be published by the LaSSR Central Election Commission no later than the tenth day following announcement of the elections.

[Alternative] For the purpose of electing LaSSR people's deputies, 32 three-mandate voting districts with an equal number of voters shall be formed by the LaSSR Central Election Commission upon presentation by the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

Three LaSSR people's deputies shall be elected from each voting district.

Lists of voting districts, together with an indication of their boundaries, the number of voters, and election commission locations, shall be published by the LaSSR Central Election Commission no later than the tenth day following announcement of the elections.

#### Article 29. Procedure for Including Citizens in Election Rolls (Paragraph 1)

[Initial draft] Election rolls shall include all LaSSR citizens who are 18 years of age or older as of the day on which elections are held, who have resided continuously in the voting area specified prior to the formation of the election rolls, and who are legally entitled to participate in elections. The place of permanent residence, insofar as it is applied to the present law, is interpreted to be the place of permanent registration, except in the case of students and persons enrolled in higher institutions of learning, whose place of residence is interpreted to be their place of registration during the period of their studies.

[Alternative] Election rolls shall include all persons permanently residing in the territory of the voting area specified and who are 18 years of age or older as of the day on which elections are held.

#### Article 51. Establishing Election Results in Voting Districts (paragraph 2)

[Initial draft] A candidate for the office of LaSSR People's Deputy who receives more than half of the ballots cast by voters participating in the election shall be considered elected.

[Alternative] The three candidates for the office of LaSSR People's Deputy who receive more ballots than any other candidates participating in the election shall be considered elected, provided that each candidate receives not less than 16.5 percent of the total vote.

The complete text of the alternative draft of the law "On the Election of LaSSR People's Deputies" is being sent to the LaSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the labor collectives for discussion.

We suggest that after an opportunity to familiarize one's self with the alternative draft, it should be discussed in the primary organizations and in Interfront support groups as well as in the labor collectives. Please send individual and collective suggestions to the following address: 226050 Smilshu Street, 12, Riga.

#### Safety Violations At Ignalina AES Cited

18001025a Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 30 Mar 89 p 2

[Letter by Feliksas Zhuvaitis, economist: "And What Is the Position of the Procuracy?"]

[Text] Comments on an article by S. Jarasunas entitled "Details with a Dangerous Charge" published in 18 January 1989 TIESA.

In the mentioned article many transgressions are discussed, which were uncovered by the Lithuanian SSR Procuracy Group at the Ignalina AES. Having read the article, one might wish to hear conclusions, proposals, or even stricter requirements. After all, the author of the article represents the procuracy of Lithuania, where a group was formed to check on the compliance of the Ignalina AES with the law.

A mere statement of fact is insufficient. What is the position of the Lithuanian procuracy? It sounds strange for them to offer merely more information about the work of the nuclear electric power plant. It is as if they were to conclude "keep on working as you can, do what and how you want, as long as the public is widely informed

PEACEFUL ATOM, the newspaper of the atomic power plant is mentioned. What good is the information in this weekly, which other newspapers of the republic print

under the rubric "This Week at the AES." According to the PEACEFUL ATOM various pollutants make up only one-tenth or a percent or two of the permitted norm, and background gamma radiation is even less than in other places in the republic. Seems incredible. These data would lead to the conclusion that our ecologists and Greens are needlessly worried. But is it needlessly?

#### **Concern About Energy Management Expressed**

*18001025b Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 30 Mar 89 p 2*

[Article by Anzelmas Baciauskas, head of the Kaunas Antanas Sniechkus Polytechnical Institute Electrical Systems Department: "Who Should Be Entrusted With Energy Management?"]

[Text] Measured by per capita electric power production and consumption, Lithuania has been backward for a long time. Now with the Ignalina Nuclear Electric Power Plant functioning, our per capita power production (but not consumption) is in the lead. This should bring us joy, because electricity guarantees technical progress. Alas, energy management in the republic causes a certain anxiety among the general public. Energy management is a complicated matter, and the anxiety is understandable. I also feel disquiet about energy management in Lithuania today and even more about the future—whom will we entrust to manage it.

So far energy management in the republic is in good hands. The majority of energy management engineers of Lithuania are graduates of the Kaunas Antanas Sniechkus Polytechnical Institute. Their accomplishments are well known, we can be proud of them. But quite a few of them are advanced in years, their working life is coming to an end.

Looking at it differently, it has been almost a decade since specialties vital to energy management became unpopular. This is understandable—the work isn't easy, and the pay, while not small, does not quite match the responsibilities. Outside income, which many find attractive, is not to be hoped for here. Therefore in recent years quite a few students of energy management or related specialties were those who didn't study too well in middle schools and had no hope of becoming physicians, jurists or economists, or those to whom it didn't matter much where to study—as long it was an institution of higher learning.

Thus there is no competition to enter the polytechnic institute to study energy management related subjects. One has to somehow pass the entry exam, and one is a student. Until last year the institute had to carry out a plan for specialist preparation. A shortfall would be a serious failure. Therefore anyone, who somehow entered the institute, finished it somehow. That is bad, but not yet a tragedy. The field of energy systems has room for many occupations, and it is not difficult to find a place for a specialist of indifferent abilities. Understandably,

this cannot go on too long. In a certain sense Chernobyl warned us about it—it is time to become concerned, time to go from talk to concrete action.

The Kaunas Antanas Sniechkus Polytechnic Institute, in practical terms, cannot do any more by itself. Help is needed.

Maybe the Lithuanian SSR education ministry could let the polytechnic institute accept into the electric systems and industrial heating energy management specialties qualified graduates of middle-level institutions without entry examinations, if they are sent by member enterprises of the energy management and electrification associations? It would do no harm if the enterprises were allowed to give scholarships to middle level graduates, maybe even of different size, having contracted with them. If they continue to study well, they might even be put in line for an apartment while still studying.

Such measures, I believe, would be temporary, until we overcome the deformations of our life, until we get to where youth in middle level schools gets a middle level education and learns to work. But one must take measures. That is indicated in the data: This year, in the electric systems specialties, a quarter of the students in the fifth course are women, in the fourth course more than a third are women, in the third course more than two-thirds are women, and in the second course almost one-half are women.

Men and women have equal rights, and there are all kinds of jobs in energy management, but it's doubtful it can flower in the republic, if, with all its problems, we were to entrust it to young women, no matter how likable. Therefore the new generation of energy managers should not concern only them. We must all think about the future. The future belongs to youth, but the more mature must help with action, not words.

#### **Crimean Tatar Oblast Paper Published**

*18001374a Moscow PRAVDA in Russian  
16 Jul 89 Second Edition p 3*

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent: "They Have Named It 'DOSTLUK'"]

[Text] **Simferopol, 15 July—The bags of Crimean mail-carriers have just become heavier. Another publication has been added to them: the weekly DOSTLUK has begun publication. It is a supplement to the oblast-level newspaper KRYMSKAYA PRAVDA, whose subscribers are the native Tatars from this area.**

This has laid the foundation for a rebirth of the Crimean Tatar national culture, which was scorned and violated at one time by Stalinism.

"We are pleased that the local authorities have turned their attention to the problems of the Crimean Tatars," states Sh. Ramazanov, the editor of this new weekly.

"Even before this many schools have begun teaching the Crimean Tatar language. At present a troupe of the national music-drama theater is being formed."

And the publication of this newspaper is an event whose importance for resolving the complexities of international relations is hard to over-estimate in general.

Good luck, DOSTLUK!

### **RSFSR Health Minister Taken to Task for Irresponsibility**

18001374b Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 14 Jul 89 Second Edition p 6

[Letter by I. Kirillov: "Is It Possible that the Minister Does Not Know His Own Obligations?"]

[Text] Dear Editor!

I am very upset by your item published under the title "In the Flames of Zmeinaya Gora." I am a civil defense staff member, and I know what attitude the "top brass" have toward the civil defense: they say that it is to blame for everything and just look how we do everything well.

An example of this is the statement made by A.I. Potapov, the RSFSR minister of health, in the article in question: "In such tragic events the civil defense is also severely tested. I do not know what its activity looks like on paper, but in the harsh light of the real world it does not evoke delight."

It's a very bad thing that Comrade A.I. Potapov does not know "what the civil defense looks like on paper"! In fact, it looks like this: "The RSFSR minister of health is the chief of the medical service of the RSFSR's civil defense." And it is from this point that all his obligations stem within the civil defense system. And this should have been known long ago by Comrade A.I. Potapov as RSFSR minister of health. And then he would not have made the following profound utterance: "And, first of all, we need to create, as soon as possible, a medical aid service for extreme situations."

But how can it be created if the minister does not know his own obligations and alludes to someone else?

Is it not time that SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA open its pages to a rubric entitled "RSFSR Civil Defense," under which the latter's tasks could be set forth? It could also talk about the civil defense's leadership organs, who does what, and who is responsible for what. Of course, all these matters have been set forth in the "Statute on the Civil Defense of the USSR," but, inasmuch as our leading comrades do not read this statute, perhaps we should proceed in the manner mentioned above.

### **'Video Piracy' Strong in Leningrad Despite New Law**

18001374c Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 14 Jul 89 Second Edition p 6

[Letter by V. Golovko, construction engineer: "Who Is Allowing the Video Business To Corrupt Our Young People?"]

[Text] V. Belonosov's article entitled "We Should Come Out of the Jungle" correctly reflects the situation with regard to the videocassette business in our country. This stock-jobbing has assumed particularly large proportions in Leningrad. The decree which was promulgated in December 1988 was supposed to put an end to "video piracy." But it did not work out that way here—nothing has changed in Leningrad.

There are "videotheques" on every corner. They run their "productions" in every basement. Children comprise the principal audience. And so before school, after school, and sometimes even skipping school, they go to see these "shows!"

Zelenogorsk is a health-resort type of suburb located within Leningrad, and it is here that dozens of sanatoriums and rest homes are situated. And "video businessmen" are registered in all of them. Their short films are of extremely dubious content, with elements of sex; even in their advertisements they are billed as "Erotica."

The basic mass of video businessmen have found "shelter" in...the Komsomol. Many videotheques conduct their activities in the name of the NTTsM—the scientific and technical centers for young people of the raykoms and the Leningrad Gorkom of the Komsomol. Hanging around them are wheeler-dealers of all stripes. I personally know one such "businessman," who runs "shows" from 12 noon to 10 p.m. in the basement of a house in the Petrograd District. Since there are no controls on his financial activity, he personally has a monthly income of 4,000 rubles!

Such anarchy with regard to the video business is causing justifiable indignation among working people. In addition to scraping fortunes together, these video businessmen are corrupting people, especially youths and children.

### **Status of Northern Ethnic Groups Examined**

18001286 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA  
in Russian 24 Jun 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Platon Sleptsov, candidate of historical sciences: "If We do Not Round Off"]

[Text] It would be the greatest mistake to believe that the peoples of the North are a unified and indivisible ethnic community that has developed and is developing according to one law, which has one and the same

illnesses today and, consequently, also the same prescriptions for curing them. I do not know, whether it is fortunate or unfortunate, but we Northerners are very different. How do the peoples of the North Yakut ASSR—the Evenks, Evens, Yukagirs and Chukchi—live today? For years, when we decided for them, without asking, how to develop them, what to strive for, the main thing, their tie to nature, was lost. It is an ancient tie, having great vital meaning.

The traditional economic forms for the peoples in the northern Yakut ASSR are reindeer herding, fur trapping and fishing. Since time immemorial, these were the basis not only of their culture, but also of the productive functioning of these peoples as independent ethnic groups, the basis of relations. Everything has changed today. The attempt to place the interaction between the peoples of northern Yakutia and nature on a "industrial track," idolizing the plan, led to terrible consequences. These peoples were settled in the area of an enormous region of 2.5 million square kilometers, which makes up more than three-fourths of the republic's territory. Here, there are 375,000 people in the rural population and of these, only 5 percent are representatives of native nationalities. It is clear that those in the majority dictate the way of life.

The native peoples live in 53 settlements, the distance between which is from several dozen to several hundred, and sometimes even thousands of kilometers, which, understandably, does not contribute either to their ethnic consolidation, nor to original development. The violation of the ancient way of life, the customary ties with nature, and the constant feeling of inferiority has led to the fact that the natural growth rates among virtually all nationalities of the North today have slowed. According to the 1979 census data, their overall number was 18,250 people. In 1986, after 7 years—19,300 people. The number of the Yukagir people in general has decreased.

Perhaps, precisely its fate is the most tragic. If we do not round off sharp corners, it must be put bluntly: the Yukagir people are already no longer. People remain who, although they believe themselves to be Yukagir, know neither the language, nor their own ancient culture.

If we conduct a less emotional, more scientific analysis of the situation, it should be said that the unstable ethnodemographic situation of the peoples of northern Yakutia was stipulated, above all, by the high mortality level. This indicator exceeds the average for Russia by a factor of 2-3. Today the life span of a Northerner is 20 years shorter, than for any other resident of our country. Meanwhile, mortality among dozens of peoples in the North has a tendency to increase. The most painful thing is that too few new families are being created among these nationalities. In 1979, there were 28 percent fewer men on the average, entering into marriage, than in Russia. As a rule, they are reindeer herders, people of the economic sector traditional for the North. The severe

conditions of migration and lack of elementary domestic conveniences in reindeer herding brigades serves as an obstacle for attracting young women. There are fewer women than men in such brigades in Yakutia and in Magadan and Kamchatka oblasts today by a factor of 2.

Let us be frank: already, the impossibility alone of marrying and raising children speaks of the degradation of the nation. Not for nothing has the chilling feeling of lack of living prospects settled in the hearts of the Evens, Evenks, Yukagir, Chukchi... The process of assimilating the nationalities of the North is occurring actively. In understanding its historical objectivity, I would say that the Northerners have been deprived mainly of free choice. With 100 percent certainty, it is possible to predict what fate awaits one girl or another from a Northern settlement. The number of mixed marriages is increasing. There would be nothing bad about this, if the fate of the peasant did not turn out so tragically. After all, these women fill up the "corps of field wives," i.e., the ones whom people cast aside from the Great Earth, barely after finishing the terms of their work contracts in the North. With the growth in the numbers of mixed marriages, the number of divorces is also increasing. The statistics are frightening: 91 percent of these marriages fail! The average length of such a "family life" is 4.1 years.

The fate of the people is tragic, and the fate of the language they once spoke is no less tragic. According to 1979 census data, only one-tenth of the Evenks, one-half of the Evens, only one-third of the Yukagir, and about two-thirds of the Chukchi considered their national language to be their native language. The rest named Yakut and Russian as their native language. In several border regions, where close, not only ethnocultural, but also ethnogenetic contacts between these peoples and the Yakut have existed for ages, there is a mass conversion to the Yakut language. For example, out of 2,000 Evenks in Olekminskiy Rayon only one-third consider the Evenk language their native tongue. They are trying to correct the situation. For instance, this school year it is proposed to teach the native language of northern nationalities in 30 schools. However, this is not many, since only 680 schoolchildren, after all, are being instructed here.

In recent years among, the aspiration for internal consolidation has strengthened among the northern nationalities of our republic, and ethnic self-awareness is growing, particularly among youth. In this sense, the request by two related groups of Evens—the Lamynkhin and the Tyugesirskiy—to restore their national state status is indicative. A survey indicated that 85 percent of the Tyugesirskiy and 53 percent of the Lamynkhin Evens were in favor of restoring the Sakkyryrskiy National Rayon, which was abolished in 1961. This process is objective, stipulated by restructuring, and should be supported at the state level. For only through the revival of national self-awareness is it possible to revive the peoples of the North.



Granting them real autonomy would signify legislative reinforcement of their ancient territories, which are the basis for the existence of traditional economic sectors, and would signify real legal defendability. We must hold this difficult discussion inevitably. If we do not show concern in our day for small peoples, their fate will spread to the large peoples as well.

### **ArSSR Law on Public Discussion of Important State Issues**

18001395 Yerevan *KOMMUNIST* in Russian  
2 Jul 89 pp 2-3

[Armenian SSR Law on Public Discussion of Important State Issues, issued 25 Jun 89]

[Text] The further enhancement of socialist democracy and the development of the people's self-management assume the expansion for each citizen of the Armenian SSR of the actual opportunities for exercising the constitutional right to participate in the management of state and public affairs, in the discussion of draft laws and of resolutions of union-wide, republic and local significance, as well as of important public issues, which have been submitted for discussion by public organizations in conformity with their required tasks.

The present law is to facilitate the development of the citizens' participation in the working out of resolutions on important state and public issues on the basis of broad glasnost and the comparison and consideration of the workers' differing opinions and proposals.

### **I. General Clauses**

#### **Article 1. Public Discussion of Important State Issues of the Armenian SSR.**

In conformity with the Armenian SSR Constitution, draft laws and other important state issues of the republic may be submitted for public discussion.

The draft laws and other important issues are to be submitted for public discussion by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet or the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

#### **Article 2. Discussion by the Populace of Important Issues of Local Significance.**

Resolutions on important issues of local significance, which touch upon the interests of the populace living in the corresponding territory, are to be taken by the rayon, city, city rayon, settlement and village soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees after preliminary discussion of these issues by the populace.

Issues of local significance are to be submitted for discussion by the populace by the local soviets or their executive committees.

#### **Article 3. Armenian SSR Laws on the Discussion of Important State Issues.**

The procedure for public discussion of important state issues of the Armenian SSR, as well as for the discussion by the populace of important issues of local significance, is to be determined by the present law on the basis of the USSR Law on Public Discussion of Important State Issues and other Armenian SSR laws.

#### **Article 4. Participation by Armenian SSR Citizens in the Discussion.**

Citizens of the Armenian SSR are to be ensured the opportunity to participate freely in the discussion of important state and public issues.

Citizens of the Armenian SSR have the right to participate directly in the discussion of issues of republic and local significance, as well as through public organizations, labor collectives, meetings, residential-area gatherings of citizens, public independent action organs, meetings of military personnel in military units, and the mass media.

Any kinds of direct or indirect limitations on the rights of citizens of the Armenian SSR to participate in the discussion based on descent, social and property status, racial and ethnic affiliation, sex, education, language, attitude toward religion, time of residence in a given locality, and type and nature of work are prohibited.

#### **Article 5. Participation of Public Organizations and Labor Collectives in the Preparations for and the Conducting of the Discussion.**

Organizations of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of trade unions and of the All-Union Leninist Komsomol, cooperative organizations, women's organizations, organizations of veterans of war and labor, other public organizations, and labor collectives participate in the preparations for and the conducting of the discussion of important state and public issues.

#### **Article 6. Ensuring the Conducting of the Discussion.**

The soviets of people's deputies are to ensure the conducting of the discussion of important issues of republic and local significance.

#### **Article 7. Glasnost During the Conducting of the Discussion.**

The conducting of the discussion is to be exercised on the basis of broad glasnost. Draft laws and other important state issues of the republic, submitted for discussion, are to be published in the press, promulgated on television and radio and brought to the attention of the populace by any other means available.

The mass media are to give a comprehensive report on the course of the discussion, to publish the suggestions and comments of citizens, state organs, public organizations and labor collectives, as well as reviews of the suggestions and comments made, and keep the people informed about the results of the discussion.

#### **Article 8. Expenditures Associated with the Discussion.**

Expenditures associated with the discussion of draft laws and other important state issues of the republic, as well as with the discussion by the populace of drafts of resolutions of local soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees, are to be charged to the state.

#### **Article 9. Accountability for Violation of Laws Concerning the Discussion.**

Officials of state and public organs, who violate the existing law, as well as persons who hinder a citizen in the free exercise of his right to participate in the discussion, will be held accountable as provided for by law.

### **II. Procedure for Public Discussion**

#### **Article 10. Issues Submitted for Public Discussion.**

Draft laws and draft resolutions touching upon the basic directions of the republic's political, economic and social development, including large-scale scientific, technical, ecological and other problems, the solution of which requires the use of significant economic resources, the exercise of the constitutional rights, freedoms and obligations of Soviet citizens, as well as other important state issues, related to the management of the Armenian SSR, are to be submitted for public discussion.

#### **Article 11. Procedure for Submission of Issues for Public Discussion.**

The submission of draft laws and other issues for public discussion is to be done by resolution of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet or the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, adopted on their initiative or at the suggestion of a rayon or city (of cities of republic subordination) Soviet of People's Deputies. Recommendations about the advisability of the submission of a draft law or other issue for public discussion may be expressed by the permanent commissions and deputies of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and Armenian SSR Council of Ministers, by republic organs of public organizations and by other organs and persons, who submit a draft law or other issue in accordance with the law to the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet or its presidium.

Draft laws and materials on other issues are to be published in the newspapers SOVETAKAN AYASTAN, KOMMUNIST, SOVETI EREMENISTANY and RYAN LAZA, in other republic newspapers and, if need be, also in the local press no later than 10 days after the adoption

of the resolution concerning their submission for public discussion. They may also be published in specialized periodicals or by other means.

Simultaneously with the submission of an issue for public discussion, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet or its presidium is to establish a time frame and the procedure for the organization of the work on examination of the suggestions and comments made in the course of the public discussion and entrust the conducting of this work to the corresponding permanent commissions of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet or establish a special commission for the indicated purpose.

#### **Article 12. Organization of the Discussion of Draft Laws and Other Issues.**

Republic and local soviet and other state organs and managers of enterprises, institutions and organizations, together with public organizations, are to ensure broad discussion of draft laws and other issues and to create the necessary conditions for this.

Citizens may direct suggestions and comments on draft laws and other issues submitted for public discussion directly to the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet or to the executive committee of the local Soviet of People's Deputies or other state and public organs.

Draft laws and other issues submitted for public discussion may be discussed at sessions of the soviets, meetings of their organs, of deputies' groups, at gatherings of public organizations and labor collectives, at meetings, at residential-area gatherings of citizens, by public independent action organs, at meetings of military personnel in military units, in the press, and on television and radio.

#### **Article 13. Summarization of Suggestions and Comments.**

Suggestions and comments made during the course of the public discussion are to be summarized correspondingly by the executive committees of the local soviets of people's deputies, other state and public organs and by the mass media. In order to summarize the suggestions and comments made, the indicated organs may form commissions and working groups. The suggestions and comments in summary form are to be sent to the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet.

#### **Article 14. Summing Up the Results of the Public Discussion.**

The suggestions and comments of citizens, labor collectives and state and public organs regarding a draft law or other issue, sent to the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, are to be examined and taken into consideration during the completion of the draft by the corresponding permanent commissions of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet or by a special commission, or by the organ which submitted the issue to the Armenian

SSR Supreme Soviet or its presidium. For the preliminary examination of the suggestions and comments, they may form preparatory commissions and working groups, which include in their make-up people's deputies, the corresponding specialists, scientific and cultural figures and representatives of state and public organs and scientific institutions.

The mass media is to inform the populace regularly about the suggestions and comments made and the course of their examination and to organize an explanation of the clauses of the draft law or other issue submitted for public discussion.

The results of the public discussion of a draft law or other issue are to be examined correspondingly by the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet or the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet and the populace is to be kept informed about this.

Suggestions and comments not pertaining to the subject of the discussed draft law or other issue are to be sent as applicable to the corresponding state and public organs, which are to examine them according to established procedure.

### **III. Discussion by the Populace of Important Issues of Local Significance.**

#### **Article 15. Issues Submitted for Discussion by the Populace.**

Drafts of resolutions of local soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees regarding plans for integrated economic and social development and the budget, regarding the implementation of socialist law and the protection of law and order and the rights of citizens, regarding the work of enterprises, institutions and organizations associated with public services and other important issues of state, economic, social and cultural building locally are to be submitted for discussion by the populace.

Resolutions of local soviets on issues of planning, construction and the public amenities of populated areas, housing construction, the development of health care, public education, culture, transportation, trade, public dining, everyday services and the protection of nature and historical and cultural monuments and about the acceptance of the mandate of the electors are to be adopted, as a rule, after their discussion by the populace.

#### **Article 16. Procedure for Submission of Issues for Discussion by the Populace.**

The submission of drafts of resolutions of the local soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees and other important issues for discussion by the populace is to be done by the local soviet or its executive committee on their initiative, as well as at the suggestion of the permanent commissions of the soviet, of deputies'

groups, of the deputies, of the organs of public organizations, of labor collectives, of meetings, of residential-area gatherings of citizens, of block and house committees, and of other organs and organizations provided for by the laws of the Armenian SSR.

Drafts of resolutions of local soviets and their executive committees, as well as materials on other issues submitted for discussion, are to be published in the local press, to be made known to the populace through local radio or by other means no later than 10 days after the adoption of the resolution about submitting them for discussion.

Simultaneously with the submission of an issue for discussion by the populace, the local soviet or its executive committee is to establish a time frame and the procedure for the organization of the work on the examination of the suggestions and comments made in the course of the discussion and to propose the conducting of this work by the corresponding local soviet or establish a special commission for the indicated purpose.

#### **Article 17. Organization of the Discussion of the Drafts of Resolutions and of Other Issues.**

The local soviet and other state organs and the managers of enterprises, institutions and organizations, together with public organizations are to ensure broad discussion of the drafts of resolutions of rayon, city, city rayon, settlement and village soviets of people's deputies and their executive committees and of other issues submitted for discussion by the populace and are to create the necessary conditions for this.

Citizens may direct suggestions and comments on the drafts of resolutions and other issues of local significance to the corresponding soviet, its executive committee and other state and public organs.

The drafts of resolutions and other issues submitted for discussion by the populace may be examined preliminarily at sessions of subordinate soviets, meetings of their executive and administrative organs, permanent commissions and deputies' groups, at meetings of public organizations and labor collectives, at meetings, at residential-area gatherings of citizens, by public independent action organs, and at meetings of military personnel in military units, and may be discussed in the local press and on television and radio.

#### **Article 18. Summarization and Examination of the Suggestions and Comments.**

The suggestions and comments made during the course of the discussion are to be summarized correspondingly by the executive committees of the subordinate soviets of people's deputies, other state and public organs and by the mass media. In order to summarize the suggestions and comments made, the indicated organs may form

commissions and working groups. The suggestions and comments in summary form are to be sent to the executive committee of the corresponding soviet.

The suggestions and comments sent to the executive committee of the Soviet of People's Deputies are to be examined and taken into consideration during the completion of the draft by the permanent commissions of the soviet or by a special commission established for this purpose, as well as during practical activities.

The local press, television and radio are to inform the populace regularly about the suggestions and comments made and the course of their examination and to organize an explanation of the clauses of the draft of the resolution and of other issues submitted for discussion.

Suggestions and comments, which, by their own content, pertain to the conduct of superior state organs, are to be sent to them for examination.

Suggestions and comments not pertaining to the subject of the discussed draft of the resolution or other issue are to be examined by the executive committee of the soviet, if their solution pertains to its conduct or are to be sent as applicable to the corresponding state and public organs, which are to examine them according to the established procedure.

**Article 19. Informing the Populace about the Results of the Discussion of Drafts of Resolutions and Other Issues.**

The results of the discussion of drafts of resolutions and other issues subject to examination by the Soviet of People's Deputies are to be reported by the executive committee or the corresponding permanent commission or any other commission at a session of the soviet and made known to the populace.

The results of the discussion of drafts of resolutions and other issues subject to examination by the executive committee of the soviet are to be reported at its meeting and made known to the populace.

*[Signed] G. Voskanyan, chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium*

*V. Stepanyan, secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium*

*Yerevan, 25 June 1989*

**Tajik Holy War Instigators Discovered in Ashkhabad**

*18350023d Ashkhabad SOVIET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen - Apr 89 p 4*

*[Article by S. Khanov and A. Yusubov, members of the USSR Journalists Union: "Holy War: What And In Whose Interest Is It?"]*

*[Text] Slightly more than a year ago, two youths who were selling apples in one of Ashkhabad's kolkhoz markets attracted special attention. The youths were*

*approaching religious believers, people who appeared to be Muslims. They worked on them zealously by striking up a conversation with them and trying to please them. They buttered them up by saying: "Are you a Muslim, brother?! If you are a Muslim, we will give you our best apples." They fawned on them and reminded them of Muslim traditions. Later, it became known that one of them was Ibadullo Khojiyev, born in 1931, and the other Shamsiddin Khamidov, born in 1933. Both merchants were fellow villagers from Shulanok village in Garm Rayon of the Tajikistan SSR. Did they, in fact, come to Turkmenistan to sell apples?! Why did these youths use the name of Allah so frequently and try to stimulate religious feelings by recalling Muslim traditions?! What was their objective in doing this?! Come, let us think about it...*

*All Soviet persons in our multinational socialist country, no matter what their origin, nationality, language and beliefs, are citizens of the USSR with equal rights. Among them religious believers also are taking an active part in our country's production and public life, and in perestroika.*

*Despite this, we have to say that facts have emerged concerning a certain group of individuals who are trying to promote the rights of Muslims and their own personal and nationalistic interests in the struggle for the path of Islam. They are making an effort to slander our building of socialism, to harm our international reputation, and to shake the supports of the historic solidarity which have come into being among the Soviet peoples. In order to realize their own nefarious intentions, they are taking part in various actions in order to "increase" the religious thoughts of religious believers and to introduce fantastic, empty nonsense into the minds of a significant number of people. They are calling religious believers to holy war. This is certainly a situation which demands thought and an appropriate response.*

*What is holy war and who benefits from it?*

*Jihad means a holy war for the sake of Islam. Sometimes it is also called "gazavat." If a religious believer, for example, sacrifices his life, children and property for Islam, he can be said to have fulfilled a holy war!*

*This is abnormal behavior and amazing fanaticism! In our opinion, it cannot be evaluated in any other way!*

*Those propagandizing for a religious cult, not limited by fulfilling Islam for themselves, do not refrain from preaching that all religious believers in the family of religious believers be faithful, that they must serve Islam in all its configurations, and that they must teach it to all those around them.*

*Certainly, the situation is not unexpected in itself. We have to say that alarming events have occurred in some neighboring states across the borders from our own country and that foreign representatives of countries*



which possess an Islamic ideology are having a direct, offensive influence here. It is clear that significant factions in those countries are making a major effort to stress holy war as the basic way to conduct a struggle with religious nonbelievers and to spread this concept among the representatives of Islam who live in the Soviet Union.

In our hands we have the book "Jihad" by the author S. A. Maududi. It was distributed in 1988 by the people mentioned above who came from Tajikistan to Ashkhabad to "sell apples." What is not said in this book which appears on no publisher's list of any scope? Slander is hurled at communists and communism in it. The darkest accusations which could be directed against our socialist structure are hurled.

Certainly, it is well known that a simple believer or people does not declare jihad. History shows us clearly that it is used by certain people for certain goals, that it causes bloodshed in the name of Allah.

Why did Mahmud of Ghazna use jihad in his own time (11th century)? In order to gain victory in his aggressive campaigns in North India! Why did Tamurlane (14th century) raise the banner of jihad? To enslave the peoples of some countries and rule over them! Jihad was necessary for rulers sitting at the head of state in various countries in various years to crush a people which had risen up against the feudalists and bureaucrats. They beheaded representatives of the Islamic religion in the name of Islam...

History bears witness to many such events in the past.

Let us take a look at some events taking place even in our time in the Islamic world. What is the result of the Iran-Iraq war which has lasted more than eight years, why was it necessary and for whom? Just think, Muslims initiated a destructive war against themselves. But the banner of both warring peoples is jihad.

True, there have been situations in the past when jihad was the banner in national liberation movements. But at the present time it is used against mostly democratic forces. Let us look at the events in Afghanistan. To whom is it not known that after the peoples government was established, the Afghan opposition engaged in a thousand different machinations to topple the government. The mujahidin declared jihad in order to realize their own extremist plans and bring down the government. In fact, their concern is not Islam, it is government. Because in this country, Islam is not in danger.

Special agents of some foreign countries who cannot see that the peoples of the Soviet Union lead a peaceful and happy life within a fraternal family want Islam's support in order to realize their own evil intentions. They are trying to spread the poison of discord among the Soviet peoples. They are involved in various nefarious actions,

and do not refrain from attempting all kinds of disruptions. The fact that only one or two people among the religious believers in our country accept them grieves them...

Ibadullo, who came with S. A. Maududi's "Jihad" book, praised it highly to the religious believers with whom he became acquainted in Ashkhabad. He gave it as a gift to some enthusiasts. They preached that their new acquaintances should educate their children in the spirit of Islam and that they should stop at nothing for the sake of Islam. In order to realize their own intentions, they "guested" often in Ashkhabad and the border regions of our republic, and conducted "interpretive" work among some individuals who believed in religion.

Throughout all of last year Ibadullo and his associates preached on the fight against "unbelievers" among religious believers for the sake of the defense of Islam, and tried to create nationalistic tendencies among the people.

Certainly, Ibadullo and his associates had to feel that there were not very many religious believers among the Turkmen people, and even that the religious believers were not rushing to fulfill religious rites. Thus, they did not stop by giving advice. They accused Turkmen Muslims of not spreading Islam and of "indifference" in this important matter.

The "merchants" from the fraternal republic, claiming "All Muslims must be brothers, all of them must fight in unison for the goals of Islam. We must declare a 'holy war' against those sitting at the head of government," say that their basic goal consists of kindling discord and nationalism among Soviet peoples.

Of course, those falling under the spell of these ill-intentioned guests, enthusiasts attending their sermons and gathering under the flag of jihad could not be found in our republic. On the contrary, the people themselves informed us about the work being conducted by these shameful people, they brought us the evil books given to them as "gifts" by the Tajik "merchants" and asked that appropriate measures be taken against people distributing such useless things.

So much for the speech of the "merchant" youths "in defense of Islam!" In the Soviet Union who is endangering Islam, and from whom must it be defended?

At a time when measures which are making it possible to fully guarantee freedom of conscience in our country based on the policy of perestroika and when ways are being found to end the psychology of viewing religion and religious believers with disapproval which came into being during the period of stagnation, who needs such hysteria?

It is a fact that the guaranteeing of freedom of conscience is being put into practice in our republic. On the basis of the wish expressed by religious representatives the

opening of mosques in the city of Ashkhabad and Tejen has been permitted by the local governments. This does not indicate that freedom of conscience is being put under pressure in our country; on the contrary, it means that basic steps are being taken to allow it! Thus, it is not hard to see that the basic mission in Turkmenistan of these phony merchants is to awaken nationalistic tendencies among the Soviet peoples who are living in peace and brotherhood.

So, to whom is jihad necessary and why? Against whom should Soviet Muslims declare a "holy war", why and for what reason? Against their own equal rights, and peaceful and satisfying lives? What are the views of the religious community in Turkmenistan? How do they see jihad? With the goal of exchanging ideas and seeing what answers they would give to these questions, we went to a building in Ashkhabad which is considered to be a temporary mosque by the Ashkhabad religious community—the house of Ishanguly Hajy who lives on Govurdak Street in the city. Present were Nasrulla Ibadulayev, Imam-Kazy of the Muslims of Turkmenistan, and Imam Khezretguly Khanov, Imam of the believers living in Ashkhabad. The clergymen gave us the place of honor and sat across from us.

Normally, religion is the basic topic at a gathering of religious believers. This time, the conversation was in the same tradition. Then the conversation shifted to jihad. The knowledgeable Kazy-Imam Nasrulla began the discussion on jihad.

Imam Nasrulla looked around the table and said: "Islam never says 'Let us fight against our own government.'" Then he gave an explanation according to the rules and regulations of his own religious teachings.

"You see, our state is a powerful, felicitous and comfortable country. We can take our families and go wherever we want. We have no fear for our relatives or homes. In the face of this wellbeing who needs jihad? Allah, who commands us 'Protect Islam, your government, your Fatherland and your own wellbeing' has no mercy for the use of jihad against these things..."

Certainly, the view of the religious representative towards the roots of public life, the situation in the country and its wellbeing is incontrovertible. There is no doubt that those accepting the wisdom of his interpretation would not permit the spread of negative situations.

But what does one say about the different views of jihad of the young "merchants" who are unable to see eye to eye with a man so knowledgeable about religion and who is fully accepted by religious believers as the Kazy-Imam Nasrulla? How did such ill-intentioned people who were trying to sow discord among the Muslims of Turkmenistan and create incorrect feelings in their hearts under the pretext of coming here to "sell apples" come about? The answer to the question is this: It is as a result of the influence of those who view socialism with loathing, and

the weakening and even excessive carelessness in atheist education. Think about it, what is the life style of Ibadulla Khojiyev which is concealed behind the Islamic facade? The relevant organs have clarified his profile. While Ibadulla has a passport and working papers, he is a person who has never worked because his working papers are false. Above all, he was never placed on the military register; although his health is good it has been confirmed that he never fulfilled his military obligation. Certainly there are grounds to say that this is the result of the carelessness of the relevant organizations.

True, when talks were held with Ibadulla Khojiyev at the appropriate administrations, he said that he understood the incorrectness of his actions and promised that he would not take part in such actions again. But...

"I met with the 'merchants' at the market," said Durdyguly Hajy. "It struck me that they did not know what they were talking about. They were denigrating the government and defending Islam. At the same time, they could not take their eyes off women. When they sold apples, they added rotten apples to the good ones. A person who believes in Islam has to be very pure, but there are some people whose words are honey but have the devil in their hearts. Talks with such people are always a sin..."

Imam Khezretguly is somewhat younger than the religious believers gathered here. He is 40 years old. Despite this, the elders pay attention to his words. His talks and argumentation on every question are convincing and lucid to those around him.

"Those coming to 'sell apples' say 'We do not need people over 40. Find youth who are religious believers. It is easier to fight the 'unbelievers' with them.'" Imam Khezretguly said excitedly. "This proves that they are not on the path of Islam. A Muslim who does not respect the laws of his own country is no Muslim because such people are going against Allah. If they can do this, we can use the jihad against them..."

Kazy-Imam Nasrulla's categorical statement of his position on jihad was worthy of the wishes and objectives of the Ashkhabad religious believers. The Imam stressed that no Muslim has this idea about jihad and would never call for discord and bloodshed; on the contrary, he should be asking Allah that the current perestroika policy be successful instead of listening to such vile nonsense.

The Imam said to those sitting there: "If someone, somewhere, of any religion feels pressure because of it, it is clear that the government should straighten it out immediately. That is the kind of time it is!"

Yes, religious believers in our republic categorically condemn the ultra reactionary actions done in the name of jihad or Islam. There is no doubt that those who have talked with them or who watched the program shown on Turkmen television on 9 January of this year are completely convinced of this.

The fact that Imam Nasrulla fully understands the policy of perestroika, the great usefulness of implementing the radical economic reform in the country and his high regard for universal disarmament is known by the Muslims in our republic. The Kazy-Imam's high esteem for all these as a state affair is worthy of the desires of the Muslims of Turkmenistan and of all Muslims living in the Soviet Union.

At the party's 21st All-Union Conference M. S. Gorbachev said: "We do not hide the fact that we view the religious worldview as nonmaterialistic and unscientific. But there is no basis to not respect the spiritual world of those who believe in religion and there are no grounds for the application of administrative force in order to strengthen materialistic views among them..."

No matter what their religious belief, all religious believers are citizens of the USSR with full rights..."

After all this, who among the representatives of Islam living in the USSR would be the first to say that a jihad, a "holy war", should be declared against anyone?

Imam Nasrulla answered this question very convincingly:

"Only ignoramuses who have lost their faith..."

#### **Turkmen Language Purification Gains Supporters** *18350020h*

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 10 March 1989 carries on page 3 a 1,300 word article by Begench Kerimi headlined "We Must Work Together" on current trends in the movement to purify the Turkmen language by removing foreign, primarily Russian loanwords from its vocabulary. He notes that "those fighting to purify the Turkmen language have recently increased in number." He adds that one consequence of this has been greater emphasis on the use of archaic words from the 1920's and 1930's

instead of the more modern Russian loanword equivalents; he cites the growing use of an archaic Turkmen word for 'train' which is beginning to be used in place of the Russian word 'poyezd.' He claims that this opposition to the use of Russian loanwords is "creating obstacles" for those who wish to learn Russian.

#### **Turkmen's Status As State Language Discussed** *18350020i*

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad SOVET TURKMENISTANY in Turkmen on 17 March 1989 carries on page 4 a 1,500 word article by K. Babayev headlined "Questions of Language Knowledge" which reviews the history of Turkmen's decline in official importance and discusses ways to increase its area of usage. Noting that very positive steps had been taken in the development of Turkmen as a state language in the 1920's when it was used as the language in state documents, he points out that "with the strengthening of the cult of personality this issue was forgotten." As a consequence, "the number of people who did not know how to write official documents in Turkmen increased, and writing these documents in Russian became acceptable." He concludes that "if it is found necessary and correct to strengthen attention to Turkmen, then it must be declared the official language of the Turkmen SSR because the Turkmen SSR has its own state seal, flag, hymn, Constitution and capital but no state language at the present time."

#### **Publication of Turkmen-Russian Dictionary Hailed** *18350020j*

[Editorial Report] Ashkhabad MUGALLYMLAR GAZETI in Turkmen on 24 March 1989 carries on page 2 a 900 word article by Amanjakhon Berdiyeva headlined "An Important Means of Interethnic Relations" on the recent publication by Russkiy Yazyk (Moscow) of the Turkmen-Russian Students Dictionary which was issued in a tirage of 35,000. "There are more than a few Russians who want to learn and master the local language. This dictionary was compiled under these circumstances." The reviewer also notes other lexicographical publications, including the "Russian-Turkmen Military Conversation Book" which was to have been published by Russkiy Yazyk in 1987. She points out that the book's "fate" always depends on the publisher.

**END OF**

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